This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

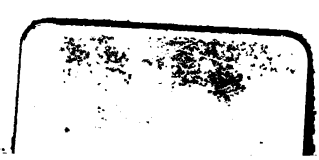
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

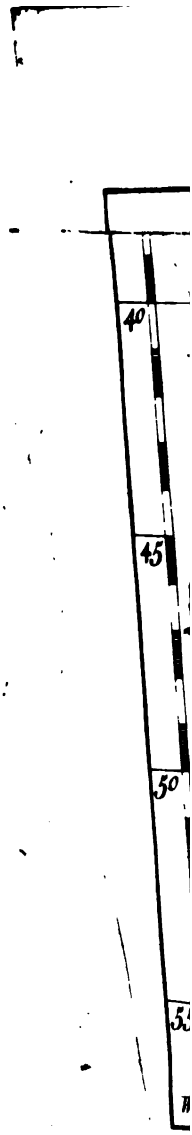
About Google Book Search

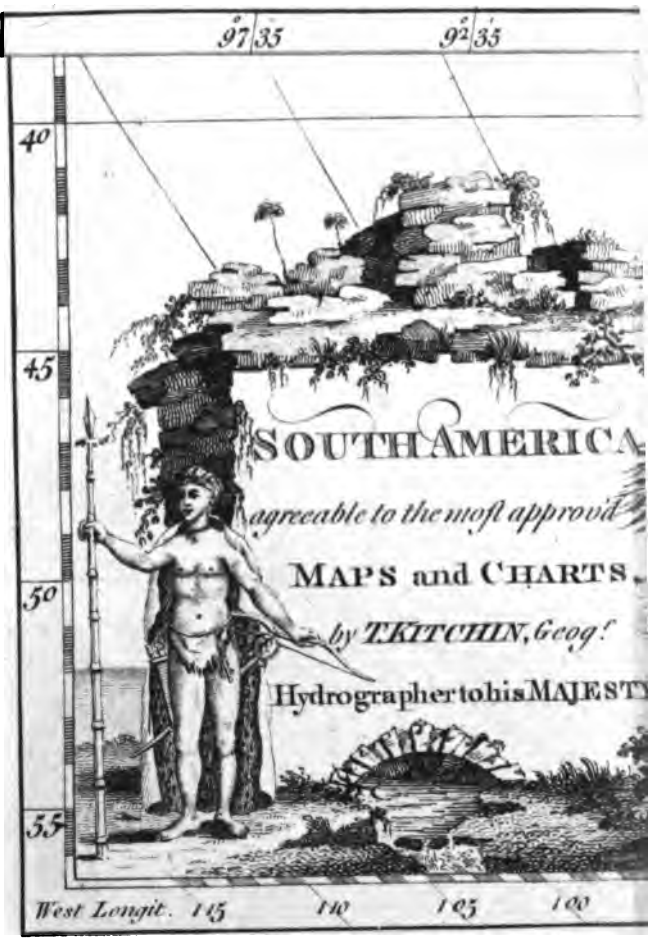
Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

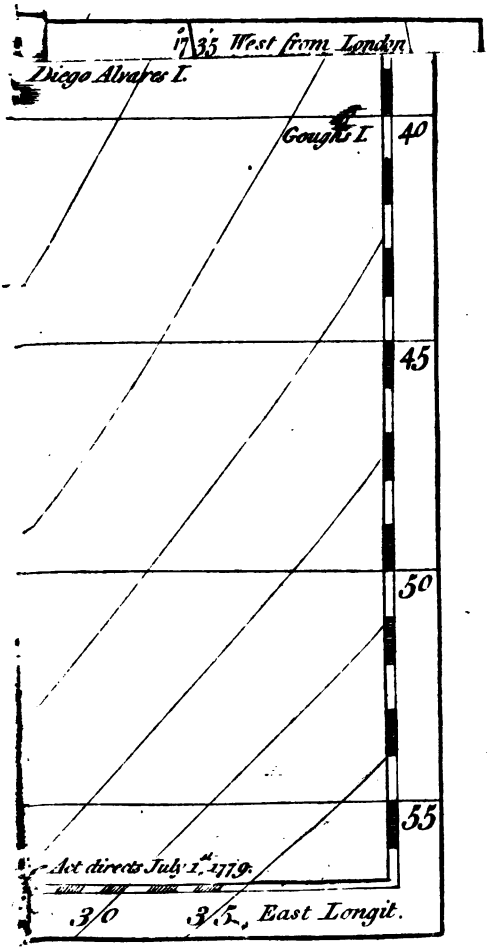
PRESENTED TO THE UNIVERSITY
BY THE RHODES TRUSTEES

059. r. 44




40
45
50


97° 35
92° 35
40°
45°
50°
55°
SOUTH AMERICA
agreeable to the most approved
MAPS and CHARTS
by THOMAS KITCHIN, Geogr.
Hydrographer to his MAJESTY
West Longit. 145 140 135 130


17 35 West from London
Diego Alvares I.
Gough's I.
40
45
50
55
Act directs July 1. 1779.
30
35 East Longit.

A

PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL

HISTORY

OF THE

SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

OF THE

EUROPEANS

IN THE

EAST AND WEST INDIES.

Tranſlated from the French of the Abbé RAYNAL,

By J. JUSTAMOND, M. A.

VOLUME THE THIRD.

DUBLIN:

Printed for JOHN EXSHAW, No. 86, and WILLIAM HALHEAD, No. 63, Dame-ſtreet.

MDCCLXXVI.

RHODES HOUSE
OXFORD
LIBRARY

INDEX

TO THE

THIRD VOLUME.

BOOK I.

SEttlement of the European nations in the great Archipelago of America, known by the name of the Antilles or Caribbee iſlands. Page 1

Whether the American iſlands have been detached from the continent. — — 2

Nature of the ſoil of the Caribbee iſlands. 6

Climate of the iſlands. — — 11

Extraordinary phænomena in the iſlands. — 14

Cuſtoms of the Caribbees, the ancient inhabitants of the Windward iſlands. — — 19

The Engliſh and French ſettle on the Windward iſlands and deſtroy the Caribbees. — 24

The French ſettle at St. Domingo. — 27

The Engliſh conquer Jamaica. — 32

The Buccaneers ravage the American ſeas. Origin, manners, expeditions and decline of theſe pirates. 36

Cauſes that prevented the Engliſh and Dutch from making any conqueſt in America, during the war for the Spaniſh ſucceſſion. — — 65

INDEX TO THE THIRD VOLUME.

Page

The iſlands of America are the cauſe of the war in 1739. — — — 70

America was the cauſe of the war in 1755. 79

The beginning of the war unfavourable to the Engliſh. — — — 81

The Engliſh are rouſed from their lethargy, and ſeize the French and Spaniſh iſlands. — 85

Advantages procured to Great Britain in the iſlands by the peace. — — 101

BOOK II.

The Europeans go into Africa to purchaſe ſlaves to cultivate the Caribbees. The manner of conducting this ſpecies of commerce. Produce accruing from the labour of the ſlaves. — 106

The Europeans go into Africa in ſearch of cultivators. — — — 107

Opinions concerning the eaſtern coaſt of Africa. *ibid.*

Opinions concerning the northern coaſt of Africa. 108

Climate of the weſtern coaſt of Africa, known by the name of the coaſt of Guinea. — 117

Soil of Guinea. — — — 121

Government, policy, wars, religion and manners of the coaſt of Guinea. — — 123

Ancient trade of Guinea. — — 134

New commerce of Guinea, or the ſlave trade. 137

Account of the places and manner in which the ſlave trade is carried on. — — 141

Are forts neceſſary in order to procure ſlaves? 143

In the ſlave trade ſmall veſſels are preferable to great ones. — — — 147

There

INDEX TO THE THIRD VOLUME.

Page

There are ſeaſons more or leſs favourable to the ſlave trade. — — — 148
Manner of ſelling the ſlaves in America. 151
Wretched condition of the ſlaves. — *ibid.*
In what manner the condition of ſlaves might be rendered more ſupportable. — 158
Slavery is entirely contrary to humanity, reaſon, and juſtice. — — — 165
Labours of ſlaves. — — 173
Character of the Europeans ſettled in the Indies. 191
Diſeaſes to which the Europeans are ſubject in the iſlands. — — — 199
Advantages of thoſe nations that are in poſſeſſion of the iſlands. — — 202

BOOK III.

Settlements of the Spaniards, the Dutch, and the Danes in the American iſlands. — 204
A Spaniſh colony formed on the banks of the Oronooko. The uſe that has and might be made of it. — — — *ibid.*
Settlement of the Spaniards at Trinidad, and at Margaretta. — — — 208
Spaniſh ſettlements at Porto Rico. — 210
Spaniſh ſettlement at St. Domingo. — 216
Spaniſh colony formed at Cuba. Importance of that iſland. — — — 222
The Spaniards not incapable, as is ſuppoſed, of bringing their colonies to great perfection. 236

Page

The Dutch eſtabliſhed themſelves at Curaſſou, St. Euſtatia, Saba, and St. Martin. The uſe of theſe ſmall iſlands. — — — 238

Dutch ſettlements at Surinam, Berbice, and Eſſequebe. — — — 249

Produce of the three ſettlements. — 252

Dangers to which the Dutch colonies are expoſed. — — — — 257

Reaſons why the Dutch ought to ſecure the poſſeſſion of their colonies, and to encourage the produce of them. — — — 262

Daniſh ſettlement at St. Thomas, St. John, and Santa Cruz. — — — 271

Conduct of Denmark towards its iſlands. 278

Reaſons why Denmark ought to appropriate to herſelf the produce of all her iſlands. — 281

BOOK IV.

Settlement of the French in the American iſlands. 287

Firſt expeditions of the French to the iſlands. *ibid.*

The French iſlands languiſh under excluſive privileges. — — — 288

The French iſlands recover their liberty. Obſtacles which impede their ſucceſs. — 294

Settlement of the French in Guiana. Revolutions of the colony. Its advantages and its inconveniencies. — — — 297

The

Page

The poſſeſſion of St. Lucia for a long time diſputed is at laſt ceded to the French. — 318
What became of St. Lucia in the hands of the French. — — — 321
Schemes of France to ſecure to itſelf the poſſeſſion of St. Lucia. — — — 326
The French ſettle at Martinico upon the ruin of the Caribs. — — — 329
Proſperity of Martinico. Cauſes of it. — 333
Decay of Martinico, and the cauſe. — 341
Preſent ſtate of Martinico. — — 343
Whether the ſtate of Martinico can be improved. 346
Whether Martinico can be conquered. — 348
Calamities experienced by the French who ſettle at Guadalupe. — — — 352
The colony of Guadalupe makes no great progreſs. — — — 354
The Engliſh conquer Guadalupe, and raiſe the iſland to the greateſt degree of proſperity. 356
Changes made in the adminiſtration of Guadalupe ſince it has been reſtored to the dominion of France. — — — 362
Settlement of the French at St. Domingo. 367
Meaſures taken by the French to render this colony advantageous. — — 370
Misfortunes that happen to the colony. 377
Preſent ſtate of this colony. — — 380
Produce and population of the colony. 396
Trade of the French at St. Domingo with the Spaniards ſettled in the ſame iſland. — 399
In what manner the colony can inſure the continuance of its connections with Europe. *ibid.*

To

INDEX TO THE THIRD VOLUME.

Page

To put an end to the diſputes ſubſiſting between the French and Spaniards at St. Domingo, it would be neceſſary to fix the limits of both colonies. — — — — 402

Meaſures which ought to be taken by France, to protect this colony from foreign invaſion. 408

Examination of the government eſtabliſhed in the French iſlands. — — 417

Is the right of property reſpected in the French iſlands? — — — 418

Are the taxes properly levied in the French iſlands? — — — 420

Is the militia well regulated in the French iſlands. 429

Is the regulation of inheritance properly ſettled in the French iſlands? — — 431

Has the payments of debts contracted in the French iſlands been judiciouſly provided for? 435

Has the mother country, in compelling the iſlands to deliver their produce only to herſelf, ſufficiently ſecured the exportation of them? 443

Is the authority in the French iſlands conſigned to thoſe hands that are moſt proper to make them flouriſh? — — — 447

BOOK V.

Settlement of the Engliſh in the American iſlands. 455

The ſtate of England when ſhe began to form ſettlements in the American iſlands. — *ibid.*

Cauſes which haſtened the population of the Britiſh iſlands. — — — 456

By

INDEX TO THE THIRD VOLUME.

Page

By *what* men the Britiſh iſlands were peopled. 461

Under what form of government the Britiſh iſlands were eſtabliſhed. — — — 463

In what manner the proſperity of the Britiſh iſlands diminiſhed. — — — 468

Settlement of the Engliſh at Barbadoes. 470

Settlement of the Engliſh at Antigua. 474

Settlement of the Engliſh at Montſerrat. 476

Settlement of the Engliſh at Nevis. *ibid.*

Settlement of the Engliſh at St. Chriſtopher's. 478

The Engliſh drive the Spaniards from Jamaica, and ſettle themſelves there. — — 482

Jamaica has enriched itſelf by the illegal trade it has carried on with Spaniſh America. 487

Jamaica has enriched itſelf by its plantations, ſtill more than by its illegal trade. — 492

Is it poſſible that the produce of Jamaica ſhould be *multiplied*? — — — 500

Jamaica experiences a great calamity. Conſequences of this cataſtrophe. — — 502

Jamaica has every thing to fear from a republic of negroes, whoſe independence ſhe hath been compelled to acknowledge. — — 504

Advantages of Jamaica for war. Its diſadvantages for navigation. — — — 511

Settlement of the Engliſh at Lucay's or Bahama iſlands. — — — 512

Settlement of the Engliſh at the Bermudas. 514

The Engliſh take poſſeſſion of the iſland of Tobago, which had been occupied by the Dutch and by *the* French. — — — 517

INDEX TO THE THIRD VOLUME.

Page

France cedes Granada to England. Importance and produce of that iſland. — — 524

The Engliſh take poſſeſſion of St. Vincent. Cuſtoms of the ſavages they found in this iſland. 528

The Engliſh eſtabliſh themſelves at Dominica. Deſign of this eſtabliſhment. — — 535

Preſent ſtate of the Britiſh iſlands. — 537

What are the outward connections of the Britiſh iſlands. — — — 541

Summary of the riches that Europe draws from the American iſlands. — — 545

What will be the fate of the American iſlands hereafter. — — — 550

A

PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL

HISTORY

OF THE

SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

OF THE

EUROPEANS

IN THE

EAST AND WEST INDIES.

BOOK I.

Settlement of the European nations in the great Archipelago of America, known by the name of the Antilles or Caribbee Islands.

BOOK I.

THAT part of North America, which extends from the 292 to the 316 degree of longitude, contains the most numerous, extensive and rich Archipelago the ocean has yet opened to the curiosity, the industry and avidity of the Europeans. The islands that compose it are known, since the discovery of the new world, by the name of the Caribbees. Those that lie nearest the East, have been called the Windward Islands; the others, the Leeward, on account of the winds blowing generally from the eastern point in those quarters. They form a

BOOK I.

continued chain, one end of which ſeems to be attached to the continent, near the gulph of Maracaybo, the other, to cloſe the entrance of the gulph of Mexico. They may, perhaps, with ſome degree of probability be conſidered, as the tops of very high mountains formerly belonging to the continent, which have been changed into iſlands by ſome revolution that has laid the flat country under water.

Whether the American iſlands have been detached from the continent?

ALL the iſlands of the world ſeem to have been detached from the continent by ſubterraneous fires, or earthquakes.

THE celebrated Atlantica, whoſe very name would ſome thouſand years ago have been buried in oblivion, had it not been tranſmitted down to us by Plato, from the obſcure tradition of Egyptian prieſts, was, probably, a large tract of land ſituated between Africa and America. Several circumſtances render it probable that England was formerly a part of France: and Sicily has evidently been detached from Italy. The Cape de Verd iſlands, the Azores, Madeira, and the Canaries muſt have been part of the neighbouring continents, or of others that have been deſtroyed. The late obſervations of Engliſh navigators leave us ſcarce any room to doubt that all the iſlands of the South Sea, formerly compoſed nearly one whole continent. New Zealand, the largeſt of them, is full of mountains, on which may be perceived the marks of extinguiſhed volcanos. Its inhabitants are neither beardleſs nor copper-coloured as thoſe of America; and though they are ſeparated ſix hundred and twenty-four leagues from each other, they ſpeak the ſame language as the natives of the iſland of Otaheite, diſcovered by M. De Bougainville.

INDISPUTABLE monuments evince that ſuch changes have happened, of which the attentive naturaliſt every where diſcovers ſome traces ſtill remaining. Shells of every

every kind, corals, beds of oyſters, ſea-fiſh entire or broken, regularly heaped up in every quarter of the globe, in places the moſt diſtant from the ſea, in the bowels and on the ſurfaces of mountains; the variableneſs of the continent, ſubject to all the changes of the ocean, by which it is conſtantly beaten, worn away and entirely altered. whilſt at a diſtance, perhaps, on one ſide it loſes immenſe tracts of land; on the other, diſcovers to us new countries, and long banks of ſand ſurrounding thoſe cities, that formerly were celebrated ſeaports: the horizontal and parallel poſition of the ſtrata of the earth and of marine productions collected and heaped up alternately in the ſame order, compoſed of the ſame materials, that are regularly cemented by the conſtant and ſucceſſive exertion of the ſame cauſe: the correſpondent ſimilarity obſervable between ſuch coaſts as are ſeparated by an arm of the ſea; on one ſide of which may be perceived ſalient angles oppoſite to re-entering angles on the other: on the right-hand beds of the ſame kind of ſand, or ſimilar petrifactions diſpoſed on a level with ſimilar ſtrata extending to the left: the direction of mountains and rivers towards the ſea as to their common origin; the formation of hills and vallies, on which this immenſe fluid hath, as it were, ſtamped indelible marks of its undulations: all theſe ſeveral circumſtances atteſt, that the ocean has broken its natural limits, or perhaps, that theſe limits have never been inſurmountable, and varying the face of the globe, according to the irregularity of its motions, hath already taken it from, and reſtored it to its inhabitants. Hence thoſe ſucceſſive though never univerſal deluges that have covered the face of the earth, but not rendered it inſtantaneouſly inviſible to us: for the waters acting at the ſame time in the cavities and on the ſurface of the globe, cannot poſſibly increaſe the

BOOK I.

depth of their beds without diminiſhing their breadth; or overflow, on one ſide, without leaving dry land on the other; nor can we conceive any alteration in the whole maſs that can poſſibly have concealed at once all the mountains and made the ſea riſe above them. What a ſudden transformation muſt have forced all the rocks and every ſolid particle of matter to the center of the earth, to draw out of its inmoſt receſſes and channels all thoſe fluids which animate it; and thus blending its ſeveral elements together, produce a maſs of waters and uſeleſs germina floating in the air? Is it not enough that each hemiſphere alternately becomes a prey to the devaſtations of the ocean? Such conſtant ſhocks have doubtleſs ſo long concealed from us the new world, and, perhaps, ſwallowed up that continent which, as is imagined, had been only ſeparated from our own.

WHATEVER may be the ſecret cauſes of theſe particular revolutions, the general cauſe of which reſults from the known and univerſal laws of motion; their effects, however, will be always ſenſible to every man who has the reſolution and ſagacity to perceive them. They will be more particularly ſenſible in regard to the Caribbees if it can ever be proved that they undergo violent ſhocks whenever the volcanos of the Cordeleras throw out their inflammable matter, and all Peru is ſhaken. This Archipelago, as well as that of the Eaſt-Indies, ſituated nearly in the ſame degree of latitude, ſeems to be produced by the ſame cauſe; namely, the motion of the ſea from eaſt to weſt: a motion impreſſed by that which cauſes the earth's revolution from weſt to eaſt: more rapid at the equator, where the globe of the earth being more elevated, revolves in a larger circle and in a more agitated zone: where the ocean ſeems, as it were willing to break through all the boundaries nature oppoſes to it, and opening to itſelf

ſelf a free and uninterrupted courſe, forms the equinoctial line.

THE direction of the Caribbees, beginning from Tobago, is nearly north and N. N. E. This direction is continued from one iſland to another, forming a line ſomewhat curved towards the north-eaſt, and ends at Antigua. In this place the line becomes at once curved, and extending itſelf in a right line to the eaſt and N. E. meets in its courſe with the iſlands of Porto-Rico, St. Domingo, and Cuba, known by the name of the Leeward Iſlands, ſeparated from each other by rivers of various breadths. Theſe in ſome are ſix, in others fifteen or twenty leagues broad; but the ſoundings in all of them are from a hundred to a hundred and twenty or a hundred and fifty fathom. Between Granada and St. Vincent's there is alſo a ſmall Archipelago of thirty leagues, in which ſometimes the ſoundings are not ten fathom.

THE mountains in the Caribbees run in the ſame directions as the iſlands themſelves. The direction is ſo regular, that if we were to conſider the tops of theſe mountains only independently of their baſes, they might be looked upon as a chain of hills belonging to the continent, of which Martinico would be the moſt north-eaſterly promontory.

THE ſprings of water which flow from the mountains in the Windward Iſlands, run all in the weſtern part of theſe iſlands. The whole eaſtern coaſt, that is to ſay, the coaſt, which, according to our conjectures, has always been ſea, is without any running water. No ſprings come down there from the mountains; they would, indeed, have been uſeleſs, for after having run over a very *ſhort tract* of land, and with great rapidity, they would have fallen into the ſea.

BOOK I.

In Porto-Rico, St. Domingo, and Cuba, there are a few rivers which diſcharge themſelves into the ſea on the northern ſide, and whoſe ſources riſe in the mountains running from eaſt to weſt, that is, through the whole length of theſe iſlands. Theſe rivers water a conſiderable extent of low country, which has certainly never been covered by the ſea. From the other ſide of the mountains facing the ſouth, where the ſea, flowing with greater impetuoſity, leaves behind it marks of its inundations, ſeveral rivers flow into theſe three iſlands, ſome of which are conſiderable enough to receive the largeſt ſhips.

These obſervations, which ſeem to prove that the ſea has ſeparated the Caribbees from the continent, are further confirmed by obſervations of a different kind, though equally concluſive in ſupport of this conjecture. Tobago, Margaretta, and Trinidad, iſlands that are the neareſt to the continent, produce as well as the Caribbees, trees whoſe wood is ſoft, and wild cocoa. Theſe particular ſpecies are not to be found, at leaſt in any quantity, in the northern iſlands. In theſe, the only wood we meet with is hard. Cuba, ſituated at the other extremity of the Caribbees, abounds, like Florida, from which perhaps it has been ſeparated, with cedars and cypreſſes, equally uſeful for the building of ſhips.

Nature of the ſoil of the Caribbee iſlands.

The ſoil of the Caribbees conſiſts moſtly of a layer of clay or gravel, of different thickneſs; under which is a bed of ſtone or rock. The nature of ſome of theſe ſoils is better adapted to vegetation than others. In thoſe places where the clay is dryer and more friable, and mixes with the leaves and remains of plants, a layer of earth is formed of greater depth, than where the clay is moiſter. The ſand or gravel has different properties

properties according to its peculiar nature; wherever it is leſs hard, leſs compact, and leſs porous, ſmall pieces ſeparate themſelves from it; which though dry, preſerve a certain degree of coolneſs, uſeful to vegetation. This ſoil is called in America, a pumice-ſtone ſoil. Wherever the clay and gravel do not go through ſuch modifications, the ſoil becomes barren, as ſoon as the layer formed by the decompoſition of the original plant, is deſtroyed; from the neceſſity there is of weeding it, which too frequently expoſes its ſalts to the heat of the ſun. Hence, in thoſe cultures which require leſs weeding, and where the plant covers with its leaves the vegetable ſalts, there the fertility of the ground has been preſerved.

WHEN the Europeans landed at the Caribbees, they found them covered with large trees, connected as it were to one another by a ſpecies of creeping plant; which, riſing up in the ſame manner as the ivy, wove itſelf around all the branches, and concealed them from the ſight. There was ſo great a plenty of this plant, and it grew ſo thick, one could not penetrate into the woods before it was cut down. From its great degree of flexibility it was called Liane.

IN theſe foreſts, as old as the world itſelf, there were varieties of trees, that from a ſingular partiality of nature, were very high, exceeding ſtraight, and without any excreſcences or defects. The annual fall and breaking down of the leaves, the decay of their trunks, rotted away by time, formed a moiſt ſediment upon the ground; which being cleared, occaſioned a ſurprizing degree of vegetation in thoſe plants that ſupplied the place of the trees that were rooted up.

IN whatever ſoil theſe trees grew, their roots were ſcarcely two feet deep, and generally much leſs: though they extended themſelves on the ſurface, in proportion

BOOK I.

to the weight they were to ſupport. The exceſſive dryneſs of the ground, where the moſt plentiful rains never penetrate very deep, as they are ſoon attracted again by the ſun-beams; and the conſtant dews that moiſten the ſurface, made the roots of theſe plants extend themſelves horizontally, inſtead of deſcending perpendicularly, as they generally do in other climates.

THE trees that grew on the tops of mountains and ſteep places, were very hard. Their bark was ſmooth, and firmly fixed to the wood. The courbari, the acajou, the manchineel, the barata, iron wood, and ſeveral others, hardly yielded to the ſharpeſt inſtrument: it was neceſſary to burn them, in order to fell and root them up. When they were on the ground, they were worked by the ſaw and the hatchet. The moſt remarkable of theſe trees is the acoma; which, when put into the earth, becomes petrified. The gum tree was eſteemed the moſt uſeful, the trunk being five feet in circumference, and the ſtem from forty-five to fifty feet, ſerved to make a canoe of one ſingle piece.

THE vallies, which are always rendered fertile by the mountains, abounded with ſoft wood. At the foot of theſe trees grew promiſcuouſly thoſe plants that the liberality of the earth produced for the ſupport of the natives of the country. The couch-couch, the yam; the Caribbee cabbage and potatoe were moſt generally uſed. Theſe were a ſpecies of potatoes produced at the root of ſuch plants as creep along the grouud, breaking through all thoſe impediments which ſeemed to render their growth impoſſible. Nature, which ſeems to have formed a certain analogy between the characters of people and the proviſions intended for their ſupport, had provided the Caribbees with ſuch vegetables as could not bear

bear the heat of the ſun, flouriſhed beſt in moiſt ſpots, required no cultivation, and were renewed two or three times in the year. The iſlanders did not thwart the free and ſpontaneous operations of nature, by deſtroying one of her productions to give the greater vigour to another. The preparation of the vegetating ſalts, was entirely left to the mere effect of nature; nor did they pretend to fix the place and time of her fertility. They gathered as chance threw in their way, or the ſeaſon pointed out, ſuch fruits as ſpontaneouſly offered themſelves for their ſupport. They had obſerved, that the putrefaction of the weeds was neceſſary to the reproduction of thoſe plants that were moſt uſeful to them.

THE roots of theſe plants were never unwholeſome; but they were inſipid when raw, and had very little flavour even when boiled, unleſs they were ſeaſoned with pimento. When mixed with ginger, and the acid juice of a plant ſomewhat reſembling our ſorrel, they produced a ſtrong liquor, which was the only compound drink of the ſavages. The only art they made uſe of in preparing it, was ſuffering it to ferment ſome days in common water, expoſed to the heat of the ſun.

EXCLUSIVE of the roots, the iſlands alſo ſupplied the inhabitants with a great variety of different fruits. Some of theſe were much the ſame as our apples, cherries, and apricots; but we have nothing in our climates that can give us any idea of moſt of the fruits of the Caribbees. Among theſe, the moſt uſeful was the banana. In ſhape, ſize, and colour it reſembled our cucumbers: its taſte was ſomewhat ſimilar to our pears: it grew in cool places, on a ſoft and ſpungy ſtem about ſeven feet high. This ſtem decayed as the fruit ripened; but before it fell, it ſhot forth a young ſprig from its trunk, which

BOOK I.

which a year after produced its fruit, periſhed in its turn, and was regenerated ſucceſſively in the ſame manner.

One ſingular circumſtance worthy of remark is, that whilſt the voracious plant, which we have termed Liane, climbed round all the barren trees, it was far removed from the fertile ones, though promiſcuouſly blended with the former. Nature ſeemed as it were, to have preſcribed to it, to reſpect what ſhe had deſtined for the ſuſtenance of man.

The iſlanders were not ſo plentifully ſupplied with pot-herbs as with roots and fruits. Purſlain and creſſes were the only herbs of this kind they had.

Their other food was confined within a very narrow compaſs: they had no tame fowl, and the only quadrupeds that were eatable, did not amount to more than five ſorts; the largeſt of which did not exceed in ſize our common rabbits. The birds more pleaſing to the eye, though leſs varied than in our climates, were valuable almoſt only on account of their feathers: few of them warbled forth thoſe melting notes that are ſo captivating to the ear; moſt of them were extremely thin, and very inſipid to the taſte. Fiſh was nearly as plentiful as in other ſeas, but generally leſs wholeſome, and leſs delicate.

The plants that nature had placed in theſe iſlands, to cure the very few diſorders the inhabitants were ſubject to, cannot be too highly commended. Whether they were applied externally, or taken internally, or the juice of them given in infuſion, their effects were as ſpeedy as ſalutary. The invaders of thoſe formerly peaceable regions, have employed theſe ſimples, which are always green, and always in full vigour, and preferred them to all the medicines that Aſia can furniſh to the reſt of the world.

The

Climate of the iſlands.

THE generality of the inhabitants of theſe iſlands conſider but two ſeaſons among them, that of drought and *that* of rain. Nature, whoſe operations are conſtant, and concealed under a perpetual verdure, appears to *them* to act always uniformly. But thoſe who attentively obſerve her progreſs, diſcern, that in the temperature of the climate, in all the revolutions, and in the changes of vegetation, ſhe follows the ſame tract as in Europe, though in a leſs evident manner.

THESE almoſt imperceptible changes, are no preſervative againſt the dangers and inconveniences of ſuch a ſcorching climate as muſt be naturally expected under the torrid zone. As theſe iſlands are all under the tropics, their inhabitants are expoſed, allowing for the varieties reſulting from difference of ſituation and of ſoil, to a perpetual heat, that generally increaſes from the riſing of the ſun till an hour after noon, and then decreaſes in proportion as the ſun declines. The thermometer in theſe places ſhews, that the degree of heat *riſes* ſometimes to forty-four, and even to forty-ſeven and a half, above the freezing point. A covered ſky, that might ſerve to alleviate this heat, is ſeldom ſeen. Sometimes, indeed, clouds appear for an hour or two, but the ſun is never hid for four days together, during the whole year.

THE variations in the temperature of the air, depend rather upon the wind, than the changes of ſeaſons. In thoſe places where the wind does not blow, the air is exceſſively hot, and none but the eaſterly winds contribute to temperate and refreſh it: thoſe that blow from the ſouth and weſt afford little relief; but they are much leſs frequent, and leſs regular than that which comes *from* the eaſt. The branches of the trees expoſed to its *influence*, are turned round towards the weſt, in that direction

BOOK I.

direction which they ſeem to be thrown into, by the conſtant and uniform courſe of the wind. But their roots are ſtronger and more extended under ground towards the eaſt, in order to afford them, as it were, a fixed point, whoſe reſiſtance may counteract the power of the ruling wind. It has been alſo obſerved, that whenever the weſterly wind blows pretty ſtrong, the trees are eaſily thrown down; in order therefore to judge of the violence of a hurricane, the number of trees, as well as the direction in which they fall, is equally to be conſidered.

THE eaſterly wind depends upon two invariable cauſes, the probability of which is very ſtriking. The firſt ariſes from the diurnal motion of the earth from weſt to eaſt, and which muſt neceſſarily be more rapid under the equinoctial than under the parallels of latitude, becauſe a greater ſpace muſt be paſſed over in the ſame time. The ſecond is owing to the heat of the ſun, which as ſoon as it riſes above the horizon, rarefies the air, and cauſes it to blow towards the weſt, in proportion as the earth revolves towards the eaſt.

THE eaſterly wind, therefore, which at the Caribbees is ſcarcely felt before nine or ten o'clock in the morning, increaſes in proportion as the ſun riſes above the horizon; and decreaſes as it declines. Towards the evening it ceaſes entirely to blow on the coaſts, but not on the open ſea. The reaſons of this difference are very evident. After the ſetting of the ſun, the air from the land, that continues for a conſiderable time rarefied, on account of the vapours which are conſtantly riſing from the heated globe, neceſſarily flows back upon the air of the ſea: this is what is generally called a land breeze. It is moſt ſenſibly felt in the night, and continues till the air of the ſea, rarefied by the heat of the ſun, flows back again towards the land, where the air has been condenſed by the

the coolneſs of the night. It has alſo been obſerved, that the eaſterly wind blows more regularly and with greater force in the dog-days than at any other times of the year; becauſe the ſun then acts more powerfully on the air. Thus nature cauſes the exceſſive heat of the ſun to contribute to the refreſhment of thoſe climates that are parched up by its rays. It is thus that in fire-engines art makes the fire inſtrumental in ſupplying conſtantly with freſh water the copper veſſels from which it is exhauſted by evaporation.

THE rain contributes alſo to the temperature of the American iſlands, though not equally in them all. In thoſe places where the eaſterly wind meets with nothing to oppoſe its progreſs, it diſpels the clouds as they begin to riſe, and cauſes them to break either in the woods or upon the mountains. But whenever the ſtorms are too violent, or the blowing of the eaſterly wind is interrupted by the changeable and temporary effect of the ſouthern and weſterly ones, it then begins to rain. In the other Caribbee iſlands, where this wind does not generally blow, the rains are ſo frequent and plentiful, eſpecially in the winter ſeaſon, which laſts from the middle of July to the middle of October; that, according to the moſt accurate obſervations, as much water falls in one week, during this time, as in our climates in the ſpace of a year. Inſtead of thoſe mild and refreſhing ſhowers which we ſometimes enjoy in Europe, the rains in theſe climates are torrents, the ſound of which might be miſtaken for that of hail, if this were not almoſt unknown under ſo burning a ſky.

THESE ſhowers, it muſt be allowed, refreſh the air; but they occaſion a dampneſs, the effects of which are no leſs diſagreeable than fatal. The dead muſt be interred within a few hours after they have expired. Meat will not keep ſweet above four and twenty hours. The fruits

BOOK I.

fruits decay, whether they are gathered ripe, or before their maturity. The bread muſt be made up in biſcuits, to prevent its growing mouldy. Common wines ſoon turn ſour; and iron grows ruſty in the ſpace of a day. The ſeeds can only be preſerved by conſtant attention and care, till the proper ſeaſon returns for ſowing them. When the Caribbees were firſt diſcovered, the corn that was conveyed there for the ſupport of thoſe who could not accuſtom themſelves to the food of the natives of the country, was ſo ſoon damaged, that it became neceſſary to ſend it in the ears. This neceſſary precaution enhanced the price of it ſo much that few people were able to buy it. Flour was then ſubſtituted in lieu of corn, which lowered, indeed, the expences of tranſport, but was attended with this inconvenience, that it was ſooner damaged. A merchant conceived, that if the flour were entirely ſeparated from the bran, which contributes to its fermentation, it would have this double advantage, of cheapneſs and of keeping longer. He cauſed it, therefore, to be ſifted, and put the fineſt flour into ſtrong caſks, and beat it cloſe together with iron hammers, till it became ſo hard a body, that the air could ſcarcely penetrate it. Experience juſtified ſo ſenſible a contrivance, the practice of it has become general, and been conſiderably improved ever ſince. If this method does not preſerve the flour, as long as in our dry or temperate climates, it may, however, be kept by it, for the ſpace of ſix months, a year, or even longer, according to the degree of care that has been taken in the preparation. Such an interval is ſufficient for an active and induſtrious mother country to ſupply its colonies.

Extraordinary phœnomena in the iſlands.

HOWEVER troubleſome theſe natural effects of the rain may be, it is attended yet with ſome more formidable: ſuch as frequent and ſometimes dreadful earthquakes

quakes in the iſlands. As they generally happen during the time, or towards the end of the rainy ſeaſon, and when the tides are higheſt, ingenious naturaliſts have, therefore, ſuppoſed that they might be owning to theſe two cauſes.

THE waters of the ſky and of the ſea, undermine, dig up, and ravage the earth in ſeveral ways. The ocean, in particular, exerts its fury upon this globe with a violence that can neither be foreſeen nor prevented. Among the various ſhocks to which it is conſtantly expoſed, from this reſtleſs and boiſterous element, there is one, which at the Caribbees is diſtinguiſhed by the name of *raz de marée*, or whirlpool. It conſtantly happens once, twice, or three times, from July to October, and always on the weſtern or ſouthern coaſts; becauſe it takes place after the time of the weſterly and ſoutherly winds, or whilſt they blow. The waves which at a diſtance ſeem to advance gently within four or five hundred yards, ſuddenly ſwell againſt the ſhore, as if acted upon in an oblique direction by ſome ſuperior force, and break with the greateſt impetuoſity. The ſhips, which are then upon the coaſt, or, in the vicinity, unable either to put to ſea, or keep their anchors, are daſhed to pieces againſt the land, leaving the unhappy ſailors entirely without hopes of eſcaping that certain death, the approaches of which they have been expecting for ſeveral hours.

So extraordinary a motion of the ſea has been hitherto conſidered as the conſequence of a tempeſt. But a tempeſt follows the direction of the wind from one point of the compaſs to another; and whirlpools are felt in one part of an iſland that is ſheltered by another, where the ſhock is not at all perceived. This obſervation has induced Mr. Dutaſta, who has travelled through Africa and America, as a natural philoſopher, a merchant, and a ſtateſ-

BOOK I.

a ſtateſman, to ſeek for a more probable cauſe of this ſingular phænomenon. He has not only diſcovered this point, but alſo ſeveral other truths that may be uſeful to many of the ſciences, if he ever makes them public. We ſhall then probably acquire more certain information reſpecting hurricanes.

THE hurricane is a violent wind generally accompanied with rain, lightning and thunder, ſometimes with earthquakes; and is always attended with the moſt melancholy and fatal conſequences that the wind can produce. The day, which, in the torrid Zone, is uſually bright and clear, is ſuddenly changed into a dark and univerſal night; the appearance of a perpetual ſpring into the drearineſs and horror of the moſt gloomy winter. Trees as ancient as the world itſelf are torn up by the roots, and inſtantly diſappear. The ſtrongeſt and moſt ſolid buildings are in a moment buried in ruins. Where the eye delighted itſelf with the proſpect of rich and verdant hills, nothing is to be ſeen but plantations entirely deſtroyed, and frightful caverns. The unhappy ſufferers deprived of their whole ſupport, weep over the carcaſes of the dead, or ſearch among the ruins for their friends and relations. The noiſe of the waters, of the woods, of the thunder and of the winds, that break againſt the ſhattered rocks; the cries and howlings of men and animals, promiſcuouſly involved in a whirlwind of ſand, ſtones, and ruins of buildings: all together ſeem to portend the laſt ſtruggles of expiring nature.

THESE hurricanes, however, contribute to produce more plentiful crops, and to ripen the fruits of the earth. Whether theſe violent concuſſions tear up the ground, in order to render it more fertile, or whether the hurricane brings along with it certain ſubſtances fit to promote the vegetation of plants, is not eaſily determined: but it has been

been obſerved, that this ſeeming and temporary confuſion was not only a conſequence of the uniformity of nature, which makes even diſſolution itſelf inſtrumental to regeneration, but alſo the means of preſerving the general ſyſtem, the life and vigour of which is maintained by an internal fermentation, of partial evil and of general good.

THE firſt inhabitants of the Caribbees imagined that they had diſcovered infallible prognoſtics of this alarming phænomenon. They obſerved, that when it was near at hand, the air was miſty, the ſun red, and yet the weather calm, and the tops of the mountains clear. Under the earth and in the reſervoirs of water, a dull ſound was heard, like that ariſing from pent up winds. The ſtars were clouded by a vapour, that made them appear larger. The ſky, in the north-eaſt, was overſpread with dark and black clouds, that ſeemed very alarming. The ſea ſent forth a ſtrong and diſagreeable ſmell, and in the midſt of a calm, was ſuddenly agitated. The wind changed in a moment from eaſt to weſt, and blew very violently at different intervals, each of which continued for two hours together.

THOUGH the truth of all theſe obſervations cannot be aſcertained, yet to pay no attention to the ideas and even prejudices of ſavage nations on times and ſeaſons would be a ſeeming indication of imprudence, or of a mind too little addicted to philoſophical inquiries. The want of employment of theſe people, and their being habituated to live in open air, afford them an opportunity and put them under a neceſſity of obſerving the ſmalleſt alterations in the air, and of acquiring ſuch informations on this point, as have eſcaped the more enlightened nations, which are more employed and more devoted to works of a ſedentary nature. Poſſibly

BOOK I.

we muſt be indebted to ſavages for the diſcovery of effects, and to learned people for the inveſtigation of cauſes. Let us trace out, if poſſible, the cauſe of hurricanes, a phænomenon ſo frequent in America, that this alone would have been ſufficient to make it be deſerted, or render it uninhabitable many years ago.

No hurricanes come from the eaſt, that is from the greateſt extent of the ſea at the Caribbees. As this is an acknowledged fact, it would induce us to believe, that they are formed on the continent of America. The weſt wind which blows conſtantly, and ſometimes very violently, in the ſouthern parts, from July to January, and the north wind blowing at the ſame in the northern parts, muſt, when they meet, oppoſe each other with a force proportionate to their natural velocity. If this ſhock happens in the long and narrow paſſes of the mountains, it muſt occaſion a ſtrong current of air, that will extend itſelf in a compound ratio of the moving power, and the diameter of the narrow paſs of the mountain. Every ſolid body that meets this current of air, will be impreſſed with a degree of force proportioned to the extent of ſurface it oppoſes to the current; ſo that if the poſition of that ſurface ſhould be perpendicular to the direction of the hurricane, it is impoſſible to determine what effect might be produced upon the whole maſs. Fortunately the different bearings of the coaſts of theſe iſlands, and their angular or ſpherical figure, occaſion thoſe dreadful hurricanes to fall upon ſurfaces more or leſs oblique, which divert the current of air, break its force, and gradually deſtroy its effects. Experience alſo proves, that their action is by degrees ſo much weakened, that even in the direction, where the hurricane falls with moſt force, it is ſcarcely felt at ten leagues diſtance.

The

The moſt accurate obſervers have remarked, that all the hurricanes which have ſucceſſively ſubverted the iſlands, came from the north-eaſt, and conſequently from the narrow paſſes formed by the mountains of St. Martha. The diſtance of ſome iſlands from this direction, is not a ſufficient reaſon for rejecting this opinion; as ſeveral other cauſes may contribute to divert a current of air to the ſouth or eaſt. We cannot help thinking therefore, that thoſe perſons have been miſtaken, who have aſſerted, that the violence of a hurricane was felt under whatever point of the compaſs the wind came from. Such are the deſtructive phænomena nature has oppoſed to the acquiſition of the riches of the new world: but what barrier could reſtrain the daring ſpirit of that navigator who diſcovered it?

Cuſtoms of the Caribbees, the ancient inhabitants of the windward iſlands.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS having firſt formed a ſettlement at St. Domingo, one of the greater Antilles, diſcovered the leſſer. The iſlanders he had to encounter here, were not ſo weak and cowardly as thoſe he had at firſt ſubdued. The Caribbees, who thought they originally came from Guiana, and of the ſame nation as the Galibees, were of moderate ſtature, thick ſet, and ſtrong, and ſuch as ſeemed adapted to form men of ſuperior ſtrength, if their manner of life and exerciſes had been favourable to the natural appearances. Their legs thick and muſcular, were generally well-made; their eyes black, large, and ſomewhat prominent. Their whole figure would have been pleaſing, had they not ſpoiled their natural beauty by fancied and artificial ornaments, which could only be agreeable to the peculiar taſte that prevailed among them. The eye-brows and the head are the only parts of the body on which they ſuffered any hair to grow. They wore no garment, nor had this any influence on their chaſtity. In order to guard againſt the bite of inſects, they

BOOK I.

painted all their bodies over with the juice of the rocou, or arnotto, which gave them the appearance of a boiled lobſter.

THEIR religion conſiſted only in ſome confuſed belief of a good and bad principle; an opinion ſo natural to man, that we find it diffuſed among the moſt ſavage nations, and preſerved even among many civilized ones. They were little concerned about the tutelary divinity, but had the greateſt dread of the evil principle. Their other ſuperſtitions were more abſurd than dangerous, and they were but little attached to them. This indifference did not contribute to render them more ready to embrace chriſtianity when propoſed to them. Without entering into diſpute with thoſe who expounded the doctrines, they contented themſelves with rejecting the belief of them, *for fear*, as they ſaid, *that their neighbours ſhould laugh at them.*

THOUGH the Caribbees had no regular form of government among them, yet they lived quietly and peaceably with one another. The tranquillity they enjoyed, was entirely owing to that innate principle of compaſſion, which goes before all kind of reflection, and is the ſource of all ſocial virtues. This kind ſpirit of benevolence ariſes from the very frame and nature of man, whoſe ſelf-love alone is ſufficient to make him abhor the ſufferings of his fellow-creatures. To infuſe, therefore, a ſpirit of humanity into the minds of tyrants, it would only be neceſſary to make them the executioners of thoſe victims they ſacrifice to their pride, and of thoſe cruelties they order to be practiſed upon others. The hands of thoſe voluptuaries ſhould be obliged to mutilate the eunuchs of their ſeraglios; they ſhould be forced to attend the field of battle; they ſhould there behold the bleeding wounds, hear the imprecations, and be witneſſes of the agonies and convul-

ſions

ſions of their dying ſoldiers; they ſhould next attend the hoſpitals, and at leiſure contemplate the wounds, the fractures, the diſeaſes occaſioned by famine, by labours equally dangerous and unwholeſome, by cruel ſervices and taxes, and the other calamities which ariſe from the vices and profligacy of their manners. How greatly would ſcenes like theſe, occaſionally introduced in the education of princes, contribute to leſſen the crimes and ſufferings of the human race! What benefits would not the people derive, from the compaſſionate emotions of their ſovereigns?

AMONG the Caribbees, whoſe hearts were not ſpoiled by the pernicious inſtitutions that corrupt us, neither adultery, treaſon, perjury, nor maſſacres, ſo common among civilized nations, were known. Religion, the laws, and penal puniſhments, thoſe barriers, raiſed to protect old cuſtoms from the encroachments of new ones, were uſeleſs to men who followed nature alone. Theft was never heard of among theſe ſavages, before the Europeans came amongſt them. When they diſcovered any thing miſſing, they obſerved, *that the Chriſtians had been with them.*

THESE iſlanders were little acquainted with the ſtrongeſt paſſions of the ſoul, not even with that of love. This paſſion was with them merely a ſenſual appetite. They never ſhewed the leaſt marks of attention or tenderneſs for that ſex, ſo much courted in other countries. They conſidered their wives rather in the light of ſlaves than of companions; they did not even ſuffer them to eat with them, and had uſurped the right of divorcing them, without permitting them the indulgence of marrying again. The women felt themſelves born to obey, and ſubmitted patiently to their fate.

IN other reſpects, a taſte for power had little influence on the minds of the Caribbees; as they had no

BOOK I.

diſtinction of ranks among them, they were all on a footing of equality, and were extremely ſurprized to find degrees of ſubordination among the Europeans. This ſyſtem was ſo repugnant to their ideas, that they conſidered thoſe as ſlaves, who had the weakneſs to receive the commands of a ſuperior, and obey them. The ſubjection of the women among them, was a natural conſequence of the weakneſs of the ſex. But in what manner, and for what reaſon, the ſtronger men ſubmitted themſelves to the weaker; and how one man commanded the whole body, was a problem, that neither war, treachery, nor ſuperſtition, had been able to reſolve.

THE manners of a people, neither influenced by intereſt, vanity, or ambition, muſt be very ſimple. Every family formed within itſelf a republic, diſtinct in ſome degree from the reſt of the nation. They compoſed a hamlet, called *carbet*, of greater or leſs conſequence in proportion to the ſpace of ground it accupied. The chief, or patriarch of the family, lived in the center, with his wives and younger children. Around him were placed the huts of ſuch of his deſcendents as were married. The columns that ſupported theſe huts, were ſtakes; the roofs thatched, and the whole furniture conſiſted of ſome arms, cotton beds made very plain and ſimple, ſome baſkets, and utenſils made of calabaſhes.

IN theſe huts the Caribbees ſpent the greateſt part of their life, either in ſleeping or ſmoaking. When they went out, they retired into ſome corner, and ſat upon the ground, ſeemingly abſorbed in the moſt profound contemplation. Whenever they ſpoke, which was not very often, they were heard without interruption, or contradiction, and without any anſwer, but the ſign of a tacit approbation.

As

As they ate little, they were not much troubled in providing for their ſuſtenance. Men who live in woods, conſume leſs than thoſe who dwell in open countries. The air is more condenſed, and it is probable that vegetables, by their tranſpiration, exhale more nutritive particles. The temperance, therefore, of the Caribbees, which at firſt was conſidered as a conſequence of their indolence, might poſſibly be aſcribed, in ſome degree, to that air they breathed from the tranſpiration of vegetables among the woods, with which their iſlands were covered.

In the midſt of theſe woods, this indolent people, without being compelled to the labours of cultivation, found conſtantly a wholeſome food, fitted to their conſtitution; and which required no care, or at leaſt very little, to prepare it. If they ſometimes added to theſe gifts of kind and ſimple nature, what they had taken in hunting and fiſhing, it was ſeldom but upon occaſion of ſome public feaſt.

These extraordinary feſtivals were held at no ſtated times. The gueſts themſelves ſhewed no alteration in their uſual characters. In theſe meetings they were not at all more gay or ſprightly, than at other times. A ſpirit of indolence and liſtleſsneſs appeared in their countenances. Their dances were ſo grave and ſolemn, that the motions of their bodies were expreſſive of the dulneſs of their ſouls. But theſe gloomy feſtivals, like thoſe clouded ſkies that are the fore-runners of a tempeſt, were ſeldom concluded without bloodſhed. Theſe ſavages, who were ſo temperate when alone, grew drunk when aſſembled in companies, and their intoxication excited and revived thoſe family diſſenſions that were either only ſtifled, or not entirely extinguiſhed: and thus theſe feſtivals terminated in maſſacres. Hatred and revenge, the only paſſions that could

BOOK I.

deeply agitate the minds of theſe ſavages were perpetuated, by theſe convivial pleaſures. In the height of theſe entertainments, parents and relations embraced one another, and ſwore that they would wage war upon the continent.

THE Caribbees embarked upon boats, made of a ſingle tree, that had been felled by burning its roots. Whole years had been taken up in hollowing theſe canoes, by hatchets made of ſtone, or by the means of of fire ſkilfully applied within the trunk of the tree, in order to bring it to the moſt convenient form. When theſe free and voluntary warriors arrive on the coaſts of Guiana, they go in queſt of the Araucos, who formerly drove them out from thence. At their return from this military expedition, which is the more ſpeedily brought to a concluſion, as mutual enmity renders it more cruel and ſpirited, the ſavages fell again into their former ſtate of indolence and inactivity.

THE Spaniards, notwithſtanding the advantage of fire arms, did not continue long at war with this people, nor were they always ſucceſsful. At firſt they ſought only for gold, and afterwards for ſlaves: but not meeting with any mines, and the Caribbees being ſo proud and ſullen, that they died when made ſlaves: the Spaniards gave up all thoughts of making conqueſts, that they thought of little conſequence, and that they could neither acquire nor preſerve without conſtant and bloody wars.

The Engliſh and French ſettle on the windward iſlands, and deſtroy the Caribbees.

THE Engliſh and French being apprized of theſe tranſactions, ventured to equip a ſmall fleet, in order to intercept the Spaniſh veſſels which frequented theſe latitudes. The advantages gained, increaſed the number of pirates. Peace, which frequently took place in Europe, did not prevent theſe expeditions. The cuſtom that

that prevailed among the Spaniards, of ſtopping all ſhips that ſailed beyond the tropic, juſtified ſuch piracies.

THE two nations had long been acquainted with the Windward iſlands, without ever thinking of making any ſettlement there, or having been able to fix upon the mode of doing it. They were, perhaps, apprehenſive of irritating the Caribbees, by whom they had been favourably received; or, perhaps, they conſidered, that a ſoil which afforded none of thoſe productions that were of uſe in the old world, was unworthy of their attention. At length, however, ſome Engliſh and French, the former headed by Warner, the latter by Deſnambuc, landed at St. Chriſtopher's on the ſame day, at two oppoſite parts of the iſland. The frequent loſſes they ſuſtained, ſerved to convince them both, that they certainly would never triumph over, and enrich themſelves with the ſpoils of the common enemy, unleſs they had ſome fixed reſidence, ports, and a place of general rendevouz. As they had no notion of commerce, agriculture, or conqueſt, they amicably divided the coaſts of the iſland, where they accidentally met together. The natives of the country retired from the ſpot they were fixed upon, telling them at the ſame time, that *land muſt either be very bad, or very ſcarce with them, ſince they were come from ſo great a diſtance, and had expoſed themſelves to ſo many dangers to ſeek for it among them.*

THE court of Madrid were not ſo peaceably inclined. Frederic of Toledo, who was ſent to Braſil in the year 1630, with a powerful fleet, to attack the Dutch, was ordered in his paſſage to deſtroy the pirates, who, according to the prejudices of that nation, had invaded one of their territories. The vicinity of two active and induſtrious nations, occaſioned the greateſt anxiety to the Spaniards. They were ſenſible that their colonies would be

BOOK I.

be expoſed to attacks, if any other people ſhould come to ſettle in that part of America.

THE French and Engliſh in vain united their weak powers againſt the common enemy; they were beaten, and thoſe who were not either killed in the action, or not taken priſoners, fled for ſhelter with the utmoſt precipitation into the neighbouring iſlands. When the danger was over, they moſt of them returned to their former ſettlements. Spain, whoſe attention was engroſſed by objects ſhe conſidered as of greater importance, diſturbed them no more; taking it for granted, perhaps, that their mutual jealouſies would occaſion their deſtruction.

UNFORTUNATELY for the Caribbees, the two nations, thus conquered, ſuſpended their rivalſhip. The Caribbees, already ſuſpected of forming a conſpiracy in St. Chriſtoper's, were either baniſhed or deſtroyed. Their wives, their proviſions, and even the land they occupied, were ſeized upon. A ſpirit of reſtleſsneſs, the conſequence of uſurpation, inclined the Europeans to believe, that the other ſavage nations had entered into the conſpiracy; and they were therefore attacked in their iſlands. In vain did thoſe plain and inoffenſive men, who had no inclination to contend for the poſſeſſion of a land which they conſidered not as their property, remove the boundaries of their habitations, in proportion as we advanced with our encroachments; they were ſtill purſued with the ſame eagerneſs and obſtinacy. As ſoon as they perceived that their lives or liberties were in danger, they at length took up arms; and the ſpirit of revenge, which always goes beyond the injury, muſt have ſometimes contributed to render them cruel, though not unjuſt.

IN the earlier times, the Engliſh and the French conſidered the Caribbees as their common enemy; but this kind of caſual aſſociation was frequently interrupted.

It

It implied not a laſting engagement, much leſs the becoming guarantee for their mutual poſſeſſion. The ſavages artfully contrived to be at peace ſometimes with one nation, and ſometimes with the other; and thus they gained the advantage of having only one enemy at time. This management would have been but of little avail to theſe iſlanders, had not Europe, ſcarce paying any attention to a few adventurers, whoſe excurſions had as yet been of no uſe to her, and not ſufficiently enlightened to penetrate in futurity, neglected both the care of governing them, as well as that of putting them in a condition to extend or recover the advantages they had already acquired. The indifference ſhewn by the two mother countries to theſe particulars, determined their ſubjects of the new world, in the month of January 1660, to enter into an alliance, ſecuring to each people thoſe poſſeſſions the various events of war had procured them, and which till then had been totally unſettled. This alliance was accompanied with an offenſive and defenſive league, to compel the natives of the country to join in this plan, to which their fears induced them to accede the very ſame year.

By this treaty, that eſtabliſhed tranquility in this part of America, France obtained Guadeloupe, Martinico, Granada, and ſome other leſs conſiderable acquiſitions. England was confirmed in the poſſeſſion of Barbadoes, Nevis, Antigua, Montſerrat, and ſeveral other iſlands of little value: St. Chriſtopher's belonged to both nations. The Caribbees were confined to Dominica and St. Vincent's; where all the ſcattered body of this people united, and did not at that time exceed in number 6000 men.

At this period the Engliſh ſettlements had acquired, under a government, which, though not free from defect, was yet tolerable, ſome kind of form, and were in a flouriſhing

BOOK I.

flouriſhing ſtate. On the contrary, the French colonies were abandoned by a great number of their inhabitants reduced to the deepeſt deſpair, from the neceſſity they were under of ſubmitting to the tyranny of excluſive privileges. Theſe men, paſſionately attached to liberty, fled to the northern coaſt of St. Domingo, a place of refuge for adventurers of their own country, ſince they had been driven out of St. Chriſtopher's, about thirty years ago.

THEY were called Buccaneers, becauſe they imitated the cuſtom of the ſavages, in drying the food they lived upon by ſmoke, in places called Buccans. As they had no wives, nor children, they uſually aſſociated two in company, to aſſiſt one another in family duties. In theſe ſocieties property was common, and the laſt ſurvivor inherited all that remained. Theft was unknown among them, though no precautions were taken againſt it; and what was wanting at home was freely taken from ſome of the neighbours, without any other reſtriction than that of a previous intimation, if they were at home, if not, of making them acquainted with it at their return. Differences ſeldom happened, and when they did, were eaſily adjuſted. If the parties, however, were obſtinate, they decided the matter by fire arms. If the ball entered at the back or the ſides, it was conſidered as a mark of treachery, and the aſſaſſin was immediately put to death. The ancient laws of the country were diſregarded, and by the uſual ſea baptiſm they had received, in paſſing the Tropic, they conſidered themſelves exempted from all obligation to obey them. They had even ſunk their family name to aſſume others, borrowed from terms of war, moſt of which have been tranſmitted to their poſterity.

THE

THE dreſs of theſe barbarians conſiſted of a ſhirt dipped *in the* blood of the animals, they killed in hunting; a pair of drawers, dirtier than the ſhirt, and *made in the* ſhape of a brewer's apron, a girdle made *of leather*, on which a very ſhort ſabre was hung and ſome knives; a hat, without any rim, except a flap before, in order to take hold of it; and ſhoes without ſtockings. Their ambition was ſatisfied, if they could but provide themſelves with a gun that carried balls of an ounce weight, and with a pack of about five and twenty or thirty dogs.

THE whole employment of the Buccaneers conſiſted in hunting the wild bulls, of which there were great numbers in the iſland, ſince the Spaniards had brought them. As ſoon as they were killed they were immediately ſkinned, and the purſuit was never ended, till they had knocked down as many bulls as there were huntſmen in company. Some pieces of the fleſh were then prepared and ſeaſoned only with Jamaica pepper and juice of orange. They ate no bread, and drank only water. This was their conſtant and daily employment, and was carried on till they had provided themſelves with a ſufficient number of ſkins to ſupply the veſſels of the ſeveral nations that traded in thoſe ſeas. Theſe were then ſent to ſale in ſome frequented road; and carried thither by men who were called *engagés*, or bondſmen; a ſet of perſons who were uſed to ſell themſelves in Europe to ſerve as ſlaves in the colonies, during the term of three years. One of theſe wretches, preſuming to repreſent to his maſter, who always fixed upon a Sunday for this voyage, that God had forbidden ſuch a practice, when he had declared, *ſix days ſhalt thou labour, and on the ſeventh day ſhalt thou reſt:* And I, replied the brutal Buccaneer, I ſay to thee: *ſix days thou ſhalt kill bulls and ſtrip them of their ſkins, and on the ſeventh day thou ſhalt carry their*

BOOK I. *their hides to the ſea ſhore.* This command was followed by blows which ſometimes enforce obedience, ſometimes diſobedience to the laws of God.

MEN of ſuch a caſt, habituated to conſtant exerciſes, and feeding every day on freſh meat, were little expoſed to diſeaſes. Their excurſions were only ſuſpended by a ſlight fever, which laſted one day, and was not felt the next. They muſt, however, have been weakened by length of time, under a climate of too intenſe a heat, to enable them to ſupport ſo hard and laborious a manner of life.

THE climate, indeed, was the only enemy the Buccaneers had reaſon to fear. The Spaniſh colony, at firſt ſo conſiderable, was reduced to nothing. Neglected and forgotten by the mother country, it had even loſt the remembrance of its former greatneſs. The few inhabitants that ſurvived, lived in a ſtate of indolence: their ſlaves had nothing to do but to ſwing them in their hammocks. Confined to thoſe wants only that are ſatisfied by nature, frugality prolonged their lives to an old age, rarely to be met with in more temperate climates.

IT is probable they would not have been rouzed from their indolence, had not the enterprizing and active ſpirit of their enemies purſued them in proportion as they retreated. Exaſperated at length, from having their tranquility and eaſe continually diſturbed, they invited from the continent and from the neighbouring iſlands ſome troops who fell upon the diſperſed Buccaneers. They unexpectedly attacked theſe barbarians in ſmall parties in their excurſions, or in the night-time when retired into their huts, and many of them were maſſacred. Theſe adventures would moſt probably have been all deſtroyed, had they not formed themſelves into a body for their mutual defence. They were under an abſolute neceſſity of

of ſeparating themſelves in the day time, but met together in the evening. If any one of them was miſſing, it was ſuppoſed that he was either taken priſoner or killed, and the chace was delayed, till he was either found, or his death revenged. We may eaſily conceive how much blood muſt have been ſhed by ſuch ruffians, belonging to no country, and ſubject to no laws; hunters and warriors from the calls of nature and inſtinct; and excited to murder and maſſacres from being habituated to attack, and from the neceſſity of defending themſelves. In the height of their fury, they devoted every thing to deſtruction, without any diſtinction of ſex or age. The Spaniards, at length, deſpairing of being able to get the better of ſuch ſavage and obſtinate enemies, took the reſolution of deſtroying all the bulls of the iſlands, by a general chace. The execution of this deſign having deprived the Buccaneers of their uſual reſources, put them under the neceſſity of making ſettlements and cultivating the land.

FRANCE, who till that time, had diſclaimed for her ſubjects theſe ruffians, whoſe ſucceſſes were only temporary, acknowledged them, however, as ſoon as they formed themſelves into ſettlements. In 1665, ſhe ſent them over an honeſt and ſenſible man to govern them. He took with him ſeveral women, who, like moſt of thoſe who have at different periods been ſent into the new world, were noted for their vices and licentiouſneſs. The Buccaneers were not offended at the profligacy of their manners. *I do not deſire you to give me an account of your paſt conduct*, was the ſpeech each of them made to the woman that chance had allotted him. *You did not then belong to me. Give me your word, for the future, as you are now mine; I acquit you of what is paſt.* Then, ſtriking his hand on the barrel of his gun, he added:

This

BOOK I.

This will revenge me of your breach of faith; if you are falſe, this will certainly be true to my aim.

The Engliſh conquer Jamaica.

The Engliſh had not waited till their rivals had obtained a firm ſettlement in the great Antilles to procure themſelves an eſtabliſhment there. The declining ſtate of the kingdom of Spain, weakened by its internal diviſions, by the revolt of Catalonia and Portugal, by the commotion of Naples, by the deſtruction of its formidable infantry in the plains of Rocroy, by its continual loſſes in the Netherlands, by the incapacity of its miniſters, and even by the extinction of that national pride, which, after having been kept up and maintained by fixing itſelf on great objects, had degenerated into an indolent haughtineſs: all theſe circumſtances, tending to the ruin of the Spaniſh monarchy, left no room to doubt that war might be ſucceſsfully waged againſt her. France ſkilfully took the advantage of theſe confuſions ſhe had partly occaſioned, and Cromwel, in the year 1655, joined her, in order to ſhare in the ſpoil of a kingdom haſtening to deſtruction in every part.

THIS conduct of the protector cauſed a revolt among the beſt Engliſh officers, who, conſidering it as an inſtance of great injuſtice, determined to quit the ſervice. They thought that the will of their ſuperiors could not give ſanction to an enterprize, which violated all the principles of equity, and that by concurring to put it into execution, they would be guilty of the greateſt crime. The reſt of the Europeans looked upon theſe principles of virtue and honour as the effect of that republican and fanatical ſpirit, which then prevailed in England; but they attacked the protector with other motives.

SPAIN had long threatened to enſlave all other nations. Perhaps, the multitude, who are little able to eſtimate the

the ſtrength of princes, to weigh the variations in the balance of power, were not yet recovered from their ancient prejudices. An univerſal panic had ſeized on the minds of thoſe able men who attentively ſtudied the general progreſs of affairs. They were ſenſible that if the rapid and extraordinary ſucceſſes of France were not checked by ſome foreign power, ſhe would entirely ſpoil the Spaniards, impoſe on them what laws ſhe pleaſed, compel them to the marriage of the Infanta with Lewis the 14th, ſecure to herſelf the inheritance of Charles the 5th, and oppreſs the liberty of Europe, that ſhe had formerly protected. Cromwell, who had lately ſubverted the government of his country, ſeemed a fit perſon to give a check to the power of kings: but he was looked upon as the weakeſt of politicians, when he was obſerved to form connections which his own private intereſts, thoſe of his country, as well as thoſe of Europe in general, ought abſolutely to have prevented him from entering into.

THESE obſervations could not poſſibly eſcape the deep and penetrating genius of the uſurper. But, perhaps, he was deſirous of preſerving the idea the nation already entertained of his abilities, by ſome ſignal and advantageous conqueſt. If he had declared himſelf on the ſide of Spain, the execution of his project muſt have been chimerical; as the moſt he could poſſibly expect was to reſtore the balance of power between the two contending parties. He imagined it more favourable to his deſigns to begin by forming a connection with France, and afterwards to attack her, when he had made himſelf maſter of thoſe poſſeſſions that were the objects of his ambition. Whatever truth there may be in theſe conjectures, which, however, may be ſupported from the evidence of hiſtory, and are, at leaſt, conſiſtent with the character of the extraordinary politician, who is

BOOK I.

ſuppoſed to have adopted ſuch a method of reaſoning; the Engliſh went into the new world to attack an enemy they had juſt brought upon themſelves.

THEIR firſt attempts were directed againſt the town of St. Domingo, whoſe inhabitants retired into the woods for ſhelter, as ſoon as they ſaw a large fleet of ſhips commanded by Penn, and nine thouſand land forces headed by Venables, appear before the city. But the errors they perceived their enemies fall into, inſpiring theſe fugitives with freſh courage, they returned, and compelled the enemy to reimbark with diſgrace. This misfortune was the conſequence of the ill-concerted plan of this expedition.

THE two commanders of this enterprize, were men of very moderate abilities. They were at variance with each other, and ill affected to the protector. Inſpectors of their conduct were, however appointed; who, under the name of commiſſaries, checked their operations. The ſoldiers, who were ſent from Europe, were the very refuſe of the army; and thoſe that were taken from Barbadoes and St. Chriſtopher's, were common robbers. They were not allured by the hopes of plunder, the only encouragement that can work upon men of this caſt; an encouragement too, which the experience of all ages has found to be the moſt effectual ſpur to inſure ſucceſs in diſtant and dangerous enterprizes. Things were ſo circumſtanced, that the ſoldiers could not be upon good terms with their officers, nor the officers with one another, nor the commiſſaries with either. Proper arms, proviſions fit for the climate, and neceſſary inſtructions for the management of the whole, were all wanting.

THE execution of this attack was anſwerable to the plan. The landing of the troops, which might have been

been effected without danger, even in the port itſelf, was conducted without a guide at forty miles diſtance. The troops wandered about for four days, without water or proviſions. Exhauſted by the exceſſive heat of the climate, and diſheartened by the miſunderſtanding of their officers, they did not even contend with the Spaniards for victory. They ſcarce thought themſelves in ſafety when they had got back to their ſhips.

But ill ſucceſs contributed to reconcile the contending parties, that were highly exaſperated with each other. The Engliſh, who could not brook the thought of ſubjection and humiliation, reclaimed by the very faults they had committed, and called back to a love of their country, to a ſenſe of duty, and a thirſt for glory, ſailed for Jamaica; under a fixed reſolution, either to periſh there or to make the conqueſt of it.

The inhabitants of this iſland, ſubject to Spain ſince the year 1509, were ignorant of what had happened at St. Domingo, and did not imagine they had any enemy ſailing in their latitudes. The Engliſh therefore landed without oppoſition. They were marching boldly to lay ſiege to St. Jago, the only fortified place in the colony, when the governor gave a check to the ſpirit which ſeemed to animate them, by offering them terms of capitulation. The diſcuſſion of the ſeveral articles, artfully prolonged, gave the coloniſts time to remove their moſt valuable effects into ſecret places. They fled for ſhelter to inacceſſible mountains, leaving only to the conquerors, a city without inhabitants, moveables, treaſures, or proviſions.

This artifice exaſperated the beſiegers to the higheſt degree. They ſent out detachments on every ſide, with expreſs orders to deſtroy every thing they met with. The anxiety they felt on finding theſe parties return, without having been able to make any diſcove-

BOOK I.

ries; the want of every convenience more ſenſibly felt by this nation than any other; the mortality which increaſed among them every day; the dread they were under of being attacked by all the forces of the new world: all theſe circumſtances conſpired to make them clamorous for returning to England. The cowardly deſertion of ſo rich a prize as Jamaica, which they had almoſt reſolved upon, would have ſoon expoſed them to the mortifying reproaches of their country, had they not diſcovered paſture land, where the Spaniards had conveyed their numerous flocks. So unexpected an inſtance of good fortune, occaſioned a change in the ſentiments of the Engliſh, and made them reſolve to complete their conqueſt.

THE ſpirit of activity, which this laſt reſolution had excited, convinced the beſieged, that they could not be ſafe either in the foreſts or precipices, where they had concealed themſelves. They unanimouſly, therefore, agreed to ſet ſail for Cuba. Here they were received with ſuch marks of diſgrace as the weakneſs of their defence deſerved; and they were ſent back again: but with ſuch ſuccours as were unequal to the forces they had to contend with. From that principle of honour, which in moſt men ariſes rather from a fear of ſhame, than a love of glory, they made a more obſtinate reſiſtance than could have been expected from the ſmallneſs of the ſuccours they had received. They did not evacuate this conſiderable iſland, till they were reduced to the greateſt extremities; and from that time it has been one of the moſt valuable poſſeſſions of Great-Britain in the new world.

The Buccaneers ravage the American ſeas. Origin, manners, expeditions and declenſion of theſe pirates.

BEFORE the Engliſh had made any ſettlements at Jamaica, and the French at St. Domingo, ſome pirates of both nations, who have ſince been ſo much diſtinguiſhed

ed by the name of Buccaneers, had driven the Spaniards out of the ſmall iſland of Tortuga; and fortifying themſelves there, had with an amazing intrepidity, made excurſions againſt the common enemy. They formed themſelves into ſmall companies, conſiſting of fifty, a hundred, or a hundred and fifty men each. A boat, of a greater or ſmaller ſize, was their only armament. Here they were expoſed night and day to all the inclemencies of the weather, without having ſcarce room enough to lay down. A love of independence, the greateſt bleſſing of thoſe who are not proprietors of land, rendering them averſe from thoſe mutual reſtraints impoſed by ſociety for the common good; they paid therefore no regard to theſe, and ſome ſang, whilſt others were deſirous of going to ſleep. As the authority they had conferred upon their captain, was confined to his giving orders in battle, they lived therefore in the greateſt confuſion. Reſembling the ſavages, without any apprehenſion of wanting, and without any attention to preſerve the neceſſaries of life, they were conſtantly expoſed to the ſevereſt extremities of hunger and thirſt. But deriving, even from their very diſtreſſes, a courage ſuperior to every danger, the ſight of a ſhip tranſported them to a degree of frenzy. They never deliberated on the attack, but it was their cuſtom to board the ſhip as ſoon as poſſible. The ſmallneſs of their veſſels, and the ſkill they ſhewed in the management of them, ſcreened them from the fire of the greater ſhips; and they preſented only the fore part of their little veſſels filled with fuſileers, who fired at the port holes with ſo much exactneſs, that it entirely confounded the moſt experienced gunners. As ſoon as they threw out the grappling, the largeſt ſhip ſeldom eſcaped them.

In caſes of extreme neceſſity, they attacked the people of every nation, but fell upon the Spaniards at all

BOOK I.

times. They thought, that the cruelties they had exerciſed on the inhabitants of the new world, juſtified the implacable averſion they had ſworn againſt them. But this was heightened by a perſonal pique, from the mortification they felt, in ſeeing themſelves debarred from the privilege of hunting and fiſhing, which they juſtly conſidered as natural rights. Such were their principles of juſtice and religion, that whenever they embarked on any expedition, they uſed to pray to heaven for the ſucceſs of it; and they never returned from the plunder, but they conſtantly returned thanks to God for their victory.

THE ſhips that ſailed from Europe into America, ſeldom tempted their avidity: the merchandiſe they contained, would not have been eaſily ſold, nor been very profitable to theſe barbarians in thoſe early times. They always waited for them on their return, when they were certain, that they were laden with gold, ſilver, jewels, and all the valuable productions of the new world. If they met with a ſingle ſhip, they never failed to attack her. As to the fleets, they followed them, till they ſailed out of the gulph of Bahama; and as ſoon as any one of the ſhips was ſeparated by accident from the reſt, it was taken. The Spaniards, who trembled at the approach of the Buccaneers, whom they called devils, immediately ſurrendered. Quarter was granted if the cargo were a rich one, if not, all the priſoners were thrown into the ſea.

PETER LEGRAND, a native of Dieppe, had no more than four pieces of cannon and twenty-eight men on any one of his veſſels: with this ſmall number he ventured to attack the vice-admiral of the galleons. He boarded him, having firſt given orders to ſink his own veſſel; and the crew were ſo ſurprized and intimidated, by this daring inſtance of bravery, that they made no reſiſtance.

reſiſtance. He went immediately to the captain's cabin, who was then engaged at play with his friend, and having preſented a piſtol to his throat, compelled him to ſurrender. This commander, with the greater part of the crew, they landed at the neareſt cape, as an uſeleſs burthen to the ſhip they had ſo ill defended, and reſerved only a ſufficient number of ſailors to work her.

FIFTY-FIVE Buccaneers who had ſailed into the ſouthern ſea, proceeded as far as California. To return into the northern ſea they were obliged to ſail two thouſand leagues againſt the wind, and in a canoe. They arrived at the ſtreights of Magellan, when diſappointed and chagrined at having made no plunder in ſo rich a country, they took the reſolution to ſteer again their courſe towards Peru. They had intelligence given them, that there was in the port of Auca, a ſhip whoſe cargo was valued at ſeveral millions: they took it, and immediately embarked upon it.

MICHAEL de Baſco, Jonqué and Lawrence le Graff were cruizing before Carthagena with three ſmall veſſels: when two men of war ſailed out of the harbour with orders to attack theſe Buccaneers, and to bring them alive or dead. The pirates had no ſooner perceived them, but they began the engagement and took them. Thoſe who were not killed in the action were ſet on ſhore with a letter of thanks to the governor, for having ſent two ſuch good ſhips; at the ſame time acquainting him, that if he had ſtill any to ſpare, they would wait for them a fortnight; but if they had no money on board, the men were not to expect any quarter.

THE captains Michael and Brouage, having received intelligence that, in order to elude their vigilance, a very valuable cargo had been ſhipped from Carthagena in veſſels carrying a foreign flag; fell upon the two Dutch ſhips, that were loaded with this treaſure, and plunder-

BOOK I.

ed them. The Dutch, exaſperated at their being beat by ſhips ſo inferior to theirs in ſtrength and ſize, dared to tell Michael de Baſco openly, that if he had been alone, he would not have been ſo ſucceſsful. *Let us begin the fight again*, replied the captain, with haughtineſs, *and my companion ſhall only be ſpectator of the engagement. If I am the conqueror, I will not only have the ſilver you carry on board, but both your ſhips ſhall alſo be mine.* The Dutch, far from accepting the challenge, quickly made off, fearing, that if they took any time to conſider of it, they would not have the liberty of refuſing.

CAPTAIN Lawrence was unexpectedly overtaken by two Spaniſh ſhips, carrying each ſixty pieces of cannon, and fifteen hundred men. *You have*, ſaid he, addreſſing himſelf to his companions, *too much experience not to be ſenſible of your danger, and too much courage to fear it: On this occaſion we muſt avail ourſelves of every circumſtance, hazard every thing, attack and defend ourſelves at the ſame time. Valour, artifice, raſhneſs and even deſpair itſelf, muſt now be employed. Let us dread the ignominy of a defeat; let us dread the cruelty of our enemies; and let us fight that we may eſcape them.*

AFTER this ſpeech, that was received with general applauſe, the captain called to him the braveſt of the Buccaneers, and, in the preſence of the reſt, ordered him to ſet fire to the gun-powder, on the firſt ſignal he ſhould give him; evidencing, by this reſolution, that they muſt either expect death, or defend themſelves. He then ranged his men on both ſides of his veſſel, and raiſing his voice, in order to be more diſtinctly heard by every one, and extending his hand toward the enemy: *We muſt*, ſays he, *paſs between their ſhips, and fire upon them from every ſide.* This plan of operation was executed with equal courage and diſpatch. The galleons, however, were

were not taken; but the ſhips company were ſo reduced in number, that they either were not able, or had not courage enough to continue to combat againſt a handful of reſolute men, who, even in their retreat, had carried away the honour of the victory. The Spaniſh commander atoned, by his death, for the diſgrace his ignorance and cowardice had ſtamped upon his country. In every engagement the Buccaneers ſhewed the ſame ſpirit of intrepidity.

When they had got a conſiderable booty, at firſt they held their rendezvous at the iſland of Tortuga, in order to divide the ſpoil; but afterwards the French among them went to St. Domingo, and the Engliſh to Jamaica. Each perſon holding up his hand, ſolemnly proteſted that he had ſecreted nothing of what he had taken. If any among them were convicted of perjury, a caſe that ſeldom happened, he was left, as ſoon as an opportunity offered itſelf, upon ſome deſert iſland, as a traitor unworthy to live in ſociety. Such brave men among them as had been maimed, in any of their expeditions, were firſt provided for. If they had loſt a hand, an arm, a leg, or a foot, they received two hundred crowns. An eye, a finger, or a toe, loſt in fight, was valued only at half the above ſum. The wounded were allowed a crown a day, to enable them to have their wounds taken care of. If they had not money enough to anſwer theſe ſeveral demands, the whole company were obliged to engage in ſome freſh expedition, and to continue it till they had acquired a ſufficient ſtock to enable them to ſatisfy ſuch honourable contracts.

After this act of juſtice and humanity, the remainder of the booty was divided into as many ſhares as there were Buccaneers. The commander could only lay claim to a ſingle ſhare as the reſt; but they complimented him with two or three, in proportion as he had acquitted

BOOK I.

acquitted himſelf to their ſatisfaction. When the veſſel was not the property of the whole company, the perſon who had fitted it out and furniſhed it with neceſſary arms and ammunition, was entitled to a third of all the prizes. Favour never had any influence in the diviſion of the booty; for every ſhare was determined by lot. Inſtances of ſuch rigid juſtice as this, are not eaſily met with: and they extended even to the dead. Their ſhare was given to the man who was known to be their companion when alive, and therefore their heir. If the perſon, who had been killed, had no intimate, his part was ſent to his relations, when they were known. If there were no friends or relations, it was diſtributed in charity to the poor and to churches, which were to pray for the perſon, in whoſe name theſe benefactions were given, the fruits of inhuman but neceſſary piratical plunders.

WHEN theſe duties had been complied with, they then indulged themſelves in all kinds of profuſion. Unbounded licentionſneſs in gaming, wine, women, every kind of debauchery was carried to the utmoſt pitch of exceſs, and was ſtopped only by the want which ſuch profuſions brought on. Thoſe men who were enriched with ſeveral millions, were in an inſtant totally ruined, and deſtitute of clothes or proviſions. They returned to ſea, and the new ſupplies they acquired were ſoon laviſhed in the ſame manner. If they were aſked, what ſatisfaction they could find in diſſipating ſo rapidly, what they had gained with ſo much difficulty; they made this very ingenuous reply; "Expoſed as we are, to ſuch a "variety of dangers, our life is totally different from "that of other men. Why ſhould we, who are alive "to-day, and may be dead to-morrow, think of hoarding up? we reckon only the day we have lived, but "never think upon that which is to come. Our con-

"cern

"cern is rather to ſquander life away than to preſerve "it."

THE Spaniſh colonies flattering themſelves with the hopes of ſeeing an end of their miſeries; and reduced almoſt to deſpair in finding themſelves a perpetual prey to theſe ruffians, grew weary of navigation. They gave up all the power, conveniences, and fortune their connections procured them, and formed themſelves almoſt into ſo many diſtinct and ſeparate ſtates. They were ſenſible of the inconveniences ariſing from ſuch a conduct, and avowed them, but the dread of falling into the hands of rapacious and ſavage men, had greater influence over them, than the dictates of honour, intereſt and policy. This was the riſe of that ſpirit of inactivity which continues to this time.

THIS deſpondency ſerved only to increaſe the boldneſs of the Buccaneers. As yet they had only appeared in the Spaniſh ſettlements, in order to carry off ſome neceſſaries of life, when they were in want of them. They no ſooner found their captures begin to diminiſh, than they determined to recover by land what they had loſt at ſea. The richeſt and moſt populous countries of the continent were plundered and laid waſte. The culture of lands was equally neglected with navigation; and the Spaniards dared no more appear in their public roads, than ſail in the latitudes to which they belonged.

AMONG the Buccaneers, who ſignalized themſelves in this new ſpecies of excurſions, Montbar, a gentleman of Languedoc, particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf. Having, by chance, in his infancy, met with a circumſtantial account of the cruelties practiſed in the conqueſt of the new world, he conceived an averſion that he carried to a degree of frenzy againſt that nation that had committed ſuch enormities. Upon this point a ſtory is told of

BOOK I.

of him, that when he was at college, and acting in a play the part of a Frenchman, who quarrelled with a Spaniard, he fell upon the perſon who perſonated the Spaniard, with ſo much fury, that he would have ſtrangled him, had he not been reſcued out of his hands. His heated imagination continually repreſented to him innumerable multitudes of people maſſacred by ſavage monſters who came out of Spain. He was animated with an irreſiſtible ardour to revenge ſo much innocent blood. The enthuſiaſm which the ſpirit of humanity worked him up to, was turned into a rage more cruel even than that of religious fanaticiſm, to which ſo many human victims had been ſacrificed. The manes of theſe unhappy ſufferers ſeemed to rouze him and call upon him for vengeance. He had heard ſome account of the Buccaneers, who were ſaid to be the moſt inveterate enemies to the Spaniſh name: he therefore embarked on board a ſhip in order to join them.

In the paſſage they met with a Spaniſh veſſel, attacked it, and as it was uſual in thoſe times, immediately boarded it. Montbar, with a ſabre in his hand, fell upon the enemy, broke through them, and hurrying twice from one end of the ſhip to the other, levelled every thing that oppoſed him. When he had compelled the enemy to ſurrender, leaving to his companions the happineſs of dividing ſo rich a booty, he contented himſelf with the ſavage pleaſure of contemplating the dead bodies of the Spaniards, lying in heaps together, againſt whom he had ſworn a conſtant and deadly hatred.

Freſh opportunities ſoon occurred, that enabled him to exert this ſpirit of revenge, without extinguiſhing it. The ſhip he was in arrived at the coaſt of St. Domingo; where the Buccaneers on land immediately applied to barter ſome proviſions for brandy. As the articles they offered

offered were of little value, they alledged in excuſe, that their enemies had over-run the country, laid waſte their ſettlements, and carried off all they could. "Why, re-"plied Montbar, do you tamely ſuffer ſuch inſults?" "Neither do we, anſwered they in the ſame tone; the "Spaniards have experienced what kind of men we "are, and have therefore taken advantage of the time "when we were engaged in hunting. But we are go-"ing to join ſome of our companions, who have been "ſtill more ill-treated than we, and then we ſhall have "warm work." "If you approve it, anſwered Mont-"bar, I will head you, not as your commander, but as "the foremoſt in expoſing myſelf to danger." The Buccaneers perceiving, from his appearance, that he was ſuch a man as they wanted, chearfully accepted his offer. The ſame day they overtook the enemy, and Montbar attacked them with an impetuoſity that aſtoniſhed the braveſt. Scarce one Spaniard eſcaped the effects of his fury. The remaining part of his life was equally diſtinguiſhed at this day. The Spaniards ſuffered ſo much from him, both by land and at ſea, that he acquired the name of the *Exterminator*.

His ſavage diſpoſition, as well as that of the other Buccaneers, who followed his example, having obliged the Spaniards to confine themſelves within their ſettlements, theſe free-booters reſolved to attack them there. This new method of carrying on the war, required ſuperior forces, and their aſſociations in conſequence became more numerous. The firſt that was conſiderable, was formed by Lolonois, who derived his name from the ſands of Olone. From the abject ſtate of a bondſman, he had gradually raiſed himſelf to the command of two canoes, with twenty-two men. With theſe he was ſo ſucceſsful, as to take a Spaniſh frigate on the coaſt

BOOK I.

coaſt of Cuba. A ſlave having obſerved that after the engagement, all the men who were wounded were put to death, and fearing leſt he ſhould ſhare the ſame fate, wanted to ſave himſelf by a declaration equally perfidious, but very conſiſtent with the part he had been deſtined to take. He aſſured them, that the governor of the Havannah had put him on board, in order to ſerve as executioner to all the Buccaneers he had ſentenced to be hanged, not doubting in the leaſt but that they would all be taken priſoners. The ſavage Lolonois, fired with rage at this declaration, ordered all the Spaniards to be brought before him, and cut off their heads one after another, ſucking, at each ſtroke, the drops of blood that trickled down his ſabre. He then repaired to the Port-Du-Prince, in which were four ſhips, fitted out purpoſely to ſail in purſuit of him. He took them, and threw all the crew into the ſea, except one man, whom he ſaved, in order to ſend him with a letter to the governor of the Havannah, acquainting him with what he had done, and aſſuring him, that he would treat in the ſame manner all the Spaniards that ſhould fall into his hands, not excepting the governor himſelf, if he ſhould be ſo fortunate as to take him. After this expedition, he ran his canoes and prize ſhips aground, and ſailed with his frigate only to the iſland of Tortuga.

Here he met with Michael de Baſco, who had ſo much diſtinguiſhed himſelf for having taken, even under the cannon of Porto-Bello, a Spaniſh ſhip, whoſe cargo was eſtimated at five millions of livres, (218,500*l.*) and by other actions equally brave and daring. Theſe two adventurers gave out, that they were going to embark together on an expedition equally glorious and profitable; in conſequence of which, they ſoon collected together four hundred and forty men. This body of men,

men, the moſt numerous the Buccaneers had yet been able to muſter, ſailed to the bay of Venezuela, which runs up into the country for the ſpace of fifty leagues. The fort that was built at the entrance of it for its defence, was taken; the cannon nailed up, and the whole garriſon, conſiſting of two hundred and fifty men, put to death. They then reimbarked, came to Maracaybo, built on the weſtern coaſt of the river of the ſame name, at the diſtance of ten leagues from its mouth. This city, which had become flouriſhing and rich by its trade of ſkins, tobacco, and cocoa, was deſerted. The inhabitants had retired with their effects to the other ſide of the bay. If the Buccaneers had not loſt a fortnight in riot and debauch, they would have found at Gibraltar, near the extremity of the lake, every thing that the inhabitants had ſecreted, to ſecure it from being plundered. On the contrary, they met with fortifications lately erected, which they had the uſeleſs ſatisfaction of making themſelves maſters of, at the expence of a great deal of blood; for the inhabitants had already removed at a diſtance the moſt valuable part of their property. Exaſperated at this diſappointment, they ſet fire to Gibraltar. Maracaybo would have ſhared the ſame fate, had it not been ranſomed. Beſides the ſum they received for its ranſom, they alſo carried off with them, all the croſſes, pictures, and bells of the churches; intending, as they ſaid, to build a chapel in the iſland of Tortuga, and to conſecrate this part of their ſpoils to ſacred purpoſes. Such was the religion of theſe barbarous people, who could make no other offering to heaven, than that which aroſe from their robberies and plunder.

WHILST they were idly diſſipating the ſpoils they had made on the coaſt of Venezuela, Morgan, the moſt renowned of the Engliſh Buccaneers, ſailed from Jamaica

BOOK I.

ca to attack Porto-Bello. His plan of operation was ſo well contrived, that he ſurprized the city, and took it without oppoſition. In order to ſecure the fort with the ſame facility, he made the women and the prieſts fix the ſcaling ladders to the walls, from a full conviction, that the gallantry and ſuperſtition of the Spaniards, would never ſuffer them to fire at the perſons they conſidered as the objects of their greateſt love and reverence. But the garriſon were not to be deceived by this artifice, and the victory was obtained only by ſuperior courage and ſtrength; the treaſures that were carried away from this famous fort, were acquired at the expence of much bloodſhed.

THE conqueſt of Panama was an object of much greater importance. To ſecure this, Morgan thought it neceſſary to ſail in the latitudes of Coſta-Ricca, to procure ſome guides in the iſland of St. Catherine's, where the Spaniards confined their malefactors. This place was ſo ſtrongly fortified, that it ought to have held out for ten years againſt a conſiderable army. Notwithſtanding this, the governor, on the firſt appearance of the pirates, ſent privately to concert meaſures how he might ſurrender himſelf without incurring the imputation of cowardice. The reſult of this conſultation was, that Morgan, in the night time, ſhould attack a fort at ſome diſtance, and the governor ſhould ſally out of the citadel to defend a poſt of ſo much conſequence; that the aſſailant ſhould then attack him in the rear, and take him priſoner, which would conſequently occaſion a ſurrender of the place. It was agreed that a ſmart firing ſhould be kept up on both ſides, without doing miſchief to either. This farce was admirably carried on. The Spaniards, without being expoſed to any danger, appeared to have done their duty; and the Buccaneers, after having totally

tally demoliſhed the fortifications, and put on board their veſſels a prodigious quantity of warlike ammunitions, which they found at St. Catherine's, ſteered their courſe towards the river Chagre, a place of ſo much conſequence, that it ſeemed the only one that could inſure them ſucceſs equal to their higheſt expectations.

At the entrance of this conſiderable river, a fort was built upon a ſteep rock, which the waves of the ſea conſtantly beat againſt. This bulwark, very difficult of acceſs, was defended by an officer, whoſe extraordinary abilities were equal to his courage, and by a garriſon that deſerved ſuch a commander. The Buccaneers, for the firſt time, here met with a reſiſtance that could only be equalled by their perſeverance: it was a doubtful point, whether they would ſucceed, or be obliged to raiſe the ſiege, when a lucky accident happened, that proved favourable to their glory and their fortune. The commander was killed, and the fort accidentally took fire: the beſiegers then taking advantage of this double calamity, made themſelves maſters of the place.

Morgan left his veſſels at anchor, with a ſufficient number of men to guard them, and ſailed up the rivers in his ſloops for forty-three miles, till he came to Cruces, where the river ceaſes to be navigable. He then proceeded by land to Panama, that was only five leagues diſtant. Upon a large and extenſive plain that was before the city, he met with a conſiderable body of troops whom he put to flight with the greateſt eaſe, and entered into the city, that was now abandoned.

Here were found prodigious treaſures concealed in the wells and caves. Some valuable commodities were taken upon the boats that were left aground at low water. In the neighbouring foreſts they alſo found ſeveral rich depoſits. But the party of Buccaneers, who were mak-

BOOK I.

ing excurſions into the country, little ſatisfied with this booty, exerciſed the moſt ſhocking tortures on the Spaniards, Negroes, and Indians they diſcovered, to oblige them to confeſs where they had ſecreted their own as well as their maſters riches. A beggar accidentally going into a caſtle, that had been deſerted through fear, found ſome apparel that he put on. He had ſcarcely dreſſed himſelf in this manner, when he was perceived by theſe pirates, who demanded of him where his gold was. The unfortunate wretch ſhewed them the ragged clothes he had juſt thrown off. He was inſtantly tortured, but as he made no diſcovery, he was given up to ſome ſlaves, who put an end to his life. Thus the treaſures the Spaniards had acquired in the new world by maſſacres and tortures, were reſtored again in the ſame manner.

In the midſt of ſuch ſcenes of horror, the ſavage Morgan fell in love. His character was not likely to inſpire the object of his attachment with favourable ſentiments towards him. He was reſolved therefore to ſubdue by force the Spaniard that inflamed and tormented him. *Stop*, cried ſhe to this ſavage, as ſhe ſprung with eagerneſs out of his arms. *Stop. Thinkeſt thou then, that thou canſt raviſh my honour from me, as thou haſt wreſted from me my fortune and my liberty? Be aſſured, that I can die and be revenged.* Having ſaid this, ſhe drew out a poignard from under her gown, which ſhe would have plunged into his heart, had he not avoided the blow.

But Morgan, ſtill inflamed with a paſſion, that this determined reſiſtance had turned into madneſs, inſtead of the tenderneſs and attention he had made uſe of to ſubdue his captive, now proceeded to treat her with the greateſt inhumanity. But the fair Spaniard, immoveably determined, excited, at the ſame time that ſhe reſiſted the frantic

frantic behaviour of Morgan; till at laſt the pirates, expreſſing their reſentment, at being kept ſo long in a ſtate of inactivity, by a caprice which appeared extravagant to them, he was under the neceſſity of liſtening to their complaints, and giving up his purſuit. Panama was burnt. They then ſailed away with a great number of priſoners, who were ranſomed a few days after, and came to the mouth of the Chagre with a prodigious booty.

BEFORE the break of the day that had been fixed upon for the diviſion of the ſpoil, Morgan, whilſt the reſt of the pirates were in a deep ſleep, with the principal Buccaneers of his own country, ſet ſail for Jamaica, in a veſſel which he had laden with the rich ſpoils of a city that ſerved as the ſtaple of commerce between the old and new world. This inſtance of treachery, unheard of before, occaſioned a rage and reſentment not to be deſcribed. The Engliſh purſued the robber, in hopes of wreſting from him the booty of which their right and their avidity had been fruſtrated. The French, though ſharers in the ſame loſs, retired to the iſland of Tortuga, where they made ſeveral expeditions. But they were trifling, till in the year 1603, they attempted one of the greateſt conſequence.

THE plan of this expedition was formed by Van Horn, a native of Oſtend, though he had ſerved all his life among the French. His intrepidity would never let him allow the leaſt ſigns of cowardice among thoſe who aſſociated with him. In the heat of an engagement he went about his ſhip, ſucceſſively obſerved his men, and immediately killed thoſe who ſhrank at the ſudden report of a piſtol, gun, or cannon. This extraordinary diſcipline had made him become the terror of the coward, and the idol of the brave. In other reſpects, he readily

BOOK I.

ſhared with the men of ſpirit and bravery the immenſe riches that were acquired by ſo truly warlike a diſpoſition. When he went upon theſe expeditions, he generally ſailed in his frigate, which was his own property. But theſe new deſigns requiring greater numbers to carry them into execution, he took to his aſſiſtance Grammont, Godfrey, and Jonqué, three Frenchmen, diſtinguiſhed by their exploits, and Lawrence de Graff, a Dutchman, who had ſignalized himſelf ſtill more than they. Twelve hundred Buccaneers joined themſelves to theſe famous commanders, and ſailed in ſix veſſels for Vera Cruz.

THE darkneſs of the night favoured their landing, which was effected at three leagues from the place, where they arrived without being diſcovered. The governor, the fort, the barracks, and the poſts of the greateſt conſequence; every thing, in ſhort, that could cauſe any reſiſtance, was taken by break of day. All the citizens, men, women, and children, were ſhut up in the churches, where they had fled for ſhelter. At the door of each church were placed barrels of gun-powder, to blow up the building. A Buccaneer, with a lighted match, was to ſet fire to it upon the leaſt appearance of an inſurrection.

WHILST the city was kept in ſuch terror, it was eaſily pillaged; and after the Buccaneers had carried off what was moſt valuable, they made a propoſal to the citizens who were kept priſoners in the churches, to ranſom their lives and liberties for ten millions of livres. (437,500*l.*) Theſe unfortunate men, who had neither eat nor drank for three days, chearfully accepted the terms that were offered them. Half of the money was paid the ſame day: the other half was expected from the internal parts of the country; when there appeared on

on an eminence a conſiderable body of troops advancing, and near the port a fleet of ſeventeen ſhips from Europe. At this armament the Baccaneers, without any *marks* of ſurprize, retreated quietly, with fifteen *hundred* ſlaves they carried off with them, as a trifling *indemnification* for the reſt of the money they expected, the payment of which they referred to a more favourable opportunity. Theſe ruffians faithfully believed, that whatever they pillaged or exacted by force of arms, upon the coaſts where they made a deſcent, was their lawful property; and that God and their arms gave them an undoubted right not only to the capital of thoſe *contributions* they compelled the inhabitants to ſign a *written* engagement to fulfil, but even to the intereſt of that part of the ſum that was not yet paid.

THEIR retreat was equally glorious and daring. They boldly ſailed through the midſt of the Spaniſh fleet, that let them paſs without firing a ſingle gun; and were, in fact, rather afraid of being attacked and beaten. The Spaniards would not probably have eſcaped ſo eaſily, and with no other inconvenience, but what aroſe from their fears, if the veſſels of the pirates had not been laden with ſilver, or if the Spaniſh fleet had been freighted with any other effects but ſuch merchandiſe as were little valued by theſe pirates.

A YEAR had ſcarce elapſed ſince their return from Mexico, when on a ſudden they were all ſeized with the rage of going to plunder the country of Peru. It is probable, that the hope of finding greater treaſures upon a ſea little frequented, than on one long expoſed to piracies of this kind, was the cauſe of this expedition. But this is a circumſtance very remarkable, that both the French and Engliſh, and the particular aſſociations of theſe two nations, had projected this plan at the ſame time, without any communication, intercourſe, or de-

BOOK I.

ſign of acting in concert with each other. About four thouſand men were employed in this expedition. Some of them came by Terra-Firma, others by the ſtreights of Magellan, to the place that was the deſtined object of their wiſhes. If the intrepidity of theſe barbarians had been directed, under the influence of a ſkilful and reſpectable commander, to one ſingle uniform end, the Spaniards would probably have loſt this important colony. But their natural character was an invincible obſtacle to ſo rare an union; for they always formed themſelves into ſeveral diſtinct and ſeparate bodies, ſometimes even ſo few in number as ten or twelve, who acted together or aſunder as the moſt trifling caprice directed. Grognier, Lécuyer, Picard, and Le Sage, were the moſt diſtinguiſhed officers among the French: David, Samms, Peter, Wilner, and Towney, among the Engliſh.

SUCH of thoſe adventurers as had got into the South Sea by the ſtreights of Darien, took up with the firſt veſſels they found upon the coaſt. Their aſſociates, who had ſailed in their own veſſels, were not much better provided. Weak however as they were, they beat ſeveral times the ſquadrons that were fitted out againſt them. But theſe victories were hurtful to them, as they interrupted their navigation. When there were no more ſhips to be taken, they were continually obliged to make deſcents upon the coaſts to get proviſions; or to go by land in order to plunder thoſe cities where the booty was ſecured. They ſucceſſively attacked Seppa, Puebla-Nuevo, Leon, Reclejo, Puebla-Viejo, Chiriquita, Leſparſo, Granada, Villia, Nicoya, Tecoanteca, Mucmeluna, Chiloteca, New-Segovia, and Guayaquil, the moſt conſiderable of all theſe places.

MANY of them were taken by ſurprize, and moſt of them deſerted by their inhabitants, who fled at the ſight of

of the enemy; taking, however, the precaution of carrying off with them their moſt valuable effects. The Spaniards never ventured to defend themſelves unleſs they were at leaſt twenty in number againſt one, and even then they were beaten. They were ſo much degenerated, that they had loſt all ideas of the art of war, and were even unacquainted with the uſe of fire-arms. They were even more ignorant and cowardly than the Americans, whoſe aſhes they trampled upon. This want of courage had encreaſed from the terror the name of a Buccaneer inſpired them with. The monks had drawn them in the ſame colours in which they repreſented devils, as anthropophagi, beings who had not even the appearance of humanity; a ſpecies of monkies, more miſchievous than men. Such a picture, the offſpring of a wild and terrified imagination, equally imprinted on every mind averſion and terror. As the Spaniards always fled at the approach of theſe monſters in human ſhape, they knew of no other method of revenging themſelves, but by burning or cutting in pieces a Buccaneer. As ſoon as theſe adventurers had quitted the place they had plundered, and any of them had been killed in the attack, his body was dug up again, mangled in different parts, or made to paſs through the various kinds of torture, that would have been practiſed upon the man had he been alive. This abhorrence of the Buccaneers was extended even to the places on which they had exerciſed their cruelties. The cities they had taken were excommunicated; the very walls and ſoil of the places that had been laid waſte, were anathematized, and the inhabitants abandoned them for ever.

THIS rage, equally impotent and childiſh, contributed only to embolden that of their enemies. As ſoon as they took a town, it was directly ſet on fire, unleſs a ſum,

BOOK I.

proportioned to its value, was given to ſave it. The priſoners taken in battle were inhumanly maſſacred, if they were not ranſomed by the governor or ſome of the inhabitants: gold, pearls, or precious ſtones, were the only things accepted of for the payment of their ranſom. Silver being too common, and too weighty for its current value, would have been troubleſome to them. The chances of fortune, that ſeldom leave guilt unpuniſhed, nor adverſity without a compenſation for its ſuffering, atoned for the crimes committed in the conqueſt of the new world, and the Indians were amply revenged of the Spaniards.

BUT it happened in this, as it generally does in events of this nature, that thoſe who committed ſuch outrages, did not long enjoy the fruits of them. Several of them died in the courſe of theſe piracies, from the effects of the climate, from diſtreſs, or debauchery. Some were ſhipwrecked in paſſing the ſtreights of Magellan and at Cape Horn. Moſt of thoſe who attempted to get to the continent by the Northern ſea, fell into the ambuſcade that was laid for them, and loſt either their lives or the booty they had acquired. The Engliſh and French colonies gained very little by an expedition that laſted four years, and found themſelves deprived of their braveſt inhabitants.

WHILST ſuch piracies were committed on the ſouthern ocean, the northern was threatened with the ſame danger by Grammont. He was a native of Paris, by birth a gentleman, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a military capacity in Europe; but his paſſion for wine, gaming and women, had obliged him to join the pirates. His virtues, perhaps, were ſufficient to have atoned for his vices. He was affable, polite, generous and eloquent; he was endued with a ſound judgment, and

was

was a perſon of approved valour, which ſoon made him be conſidered as the chief of the French Buccaneers As ſoon as it was known that he had taken up arms, he was immediately joined by a thouſand brave men. The governor of St. Domingo, who had at length prevailed upon his maſter to approve of the project, equally wiſe and juſt, of fixing the pirates to ſome place, and inducing them to become cultivators, was deſirous of preventing the concerted expedition, and forbad it in the king's name. Grammont, who had a greater ſhare of ſenſe than his aſſociates, was not on that account more inclined to comply, and ſternly replied: *How can Lewis diſapprove of a deſign he is unacquainted with, and which has been planned only a few days ago?* This anſwer highly pleaſed all the Buccaneers, who directly embarked, in 1685, to attack Campeachy.

THEY landed without oppoſition. But at ſome diſtance from the coaſt, they were attacked by eight hundred Spaniards, who were beaten and purſued to the town; where both parties entered at the ſame time. The cannon they found there was immediately levelled againſt the citadel. As it had very little effect, they were contriving ſome ſtratagem to enable them to become maſters of the place; when intelligence was brought that it was abandoned. There remained in it only a gunner, an Engliſhman, and an officer of ſuch ſignal courage, that he choſe rather to expoſe himſelf to the greateſt extremities, than baſely to fly from the place with the reſt. The commander of the Buccaneers received him with marks of diſtinction, generouſly releaſed him, give him up all his effects, and beſides complimented him with ſome valuable preſents: ſuch an influence have courage and fidelity on the minds of thoſe, who ſeem to violate all the rights of ſociety.

THE

BOOK I.

THE conquerors of Campeachy ſpent two months in ſearching all the environs of the city, for twelve or fifteen leagues, carrying off every thing that the inhabitants, in their flight, thought they had preſerved. When all the treaſure they had collected from every quarter was depoſited in the ſhips, a propoſal was made to the governor of the province, who ſtill kept the field, with nine hundred men, to ranſom his capital city. His refuſal determined them to burn it, and demoliſh the citadel. The French, on the feſtival of St. Louis, were deſirous of celebrating the anniverſary of their king. In the tranſports of their patriotiſm, intoxication, and national love of their prince, they burnt to the value of a million of logwood; a part, and a very conſiderable one too, of the ſpoil they had made. After this ſingular and extravagant inſtance of folly, of which Frenchmen only could boaſt, they returned to St. Domingo.

THE little advantage which the Engliſh and French Buccaneers had made by their laſt expeditions upon the continent, had inſenſibly led them to have recourſe to their uſual piratical expeditions upon the ſea. Both were employed in attacking the ſhips they met with; when a particular train of circumſtances again engaged the French into that courſe of life, which every thing had rendered them diſſatisfied with. The powerful influence that the words glory, country and gold carry with them, determined twelve hundred of them to join a ſquadron of ſeven ſhips, that ſailed from Europe in 1697, under the command of Pointis, to attack the famous city of Carthagena. This was the moſt difficult enterprize that could be attempted in the new world. The ſituation of the port, the ſtrength of the place, the badneſs of the climate, were ſo many obſtacles that ſeemed inſurmountable to any but men of ſuch diſpo-

diſpoſitions as the Buccaneers were. All nations concurred in conferring on them the glory they had acquired by their ſucceſs; but they were baſely deprived of the advantages reſulting from it. The rapacity of the commander, who had ſent off a part of the booty, eſtimated at forty millions, (1,750,000*l.*) ſcrupled not, as ſoon as they ſet ſail, to offer forty thouſand crowns (5,250*l.*) for the ſhare of thoſe who had been the chief inſtrument in procuring him ſo conſiderable a ſpoil.

The Buccaneers, exaſperated at this treatment, reſolved immediately to board the ſkiff, called *the Scepter*, where Pointis himſelf was, and which, at that time, was too far diſtant from the reſt of the ſhips, to expect to be aſſiſted by them. This avaricious commander was upon the point of being maſſacred, when one of the male-contents cried out. *Brethren, why ſhould we attack this raſcal? he has carried off nothing that belongs to us. He has left our ſhare at Carthagena, and there we muſt go to recover it.* This propoſal was received with general applauſe. A ſavage joy at once ſucceeded that gloomy melancholy that had ſeized them, and without further deliberation, all their ſhips ſailed towards the city.

As ſoon as they had entered the city, without meeting with any reſiſtance, they ſhut up all the men in the great church and ſpoke to them in the following words: "We are ſenſible that you conſider us as men void of "faith and of all religion, as devils rather than men. "The opprobrious language you affect to make uſe of "when you ſpeak of us, and the refuſal you have made "to treat with us of the ſurrender of your city, are "evident indications of the ſentiments you entertain of "us. You ſee us here armed, and capable of avenging "ourſelves. The paleneſs viſible upon your counte-

"nances,

BOOK I.

"nances, convinces us that you expect the moſt ſevere "puniſhments, and your conſcience teſtifies that you "deſerve them. We ſhall ſoon undeceive you, and "convince you that we do not deſerve the ſcandalous "appellations you load us with; but that they belong "rather to the general under whoſe command we have "lately fought. The traitor has deceived us. Though "he owes the conqueſt of this city to our valour, he "yet refuſes to ſhare the ſpoils of it with us, and by "this inſtance of injuſtice has compelled us to return "to you again. We do it with regret, and the mode-"ration we ſhall ſhew will be a proof of it. We pledge "our faith to you, that we will immediately return "as ſoon as you have paid us five million of livres; "(218,750*l.*) this is the utmoſt of our claim. But if "you refuſe us ſo equitable a demand, the greateſt diſ-"treſſes await you, the cauſe of which you can only "aſcribe to yourſelves, and the infamous Pointis, "whom, if you pleaſe, you may load with all kinds "of execrations."

After this diſcourſe the moſt venerable prieſt in the city mounted the pulpit, and made uſe of the influence that his character, his authority, and his eloquence gave him, to perſuade his hearers to yield up without reſerve all the gold, ſilver, and jewels they had. The collection, which was made after the ſermon, not furniſhing the ſum demanded, the city was ordered to be plundered. From the houſes they proceeded to pillage the churches, and even the tombs, but not with that ſucceſs they expected, and they concluded by torturing the principal inhabitants.

Two of the citizens of the greateſt diſtinction were ſeized, and ſeparately queſtioned where the public money, and that of the individuals was depoſited. They declared

declared they knew nothing of the matter; but their anſwer was accompanied with ſo much ſimplicity as well as firmneſs, that the pirates would not make uſe of any ſeverities againſt them. It was, however, agreed, that they ſhould apparently be killed, by diſcharging ſeveral ſhots at them. Two other citizens were then called; whoſe behaviour was ſimilar to that of the former, and the ſame ceremony was practiſed upon them. It was publicly given out that all the four had been killed, and that all thoſe who ſhould perſiſt in the ſame obſtinate ſilence, ſhould be treated in the ſame manner. This proclamation proved extremely ſucceſsful: for above a million (43,750*l.*) was brought in the very ſame day; and ſome farther contributions were made ſome days after. The adventurers, at length, deſpairing to add any thing to what they had already amaſſed, ſet ſail. Unfortunately they met with a fleet of Dutch and Engliſh ſhips, both thoſe nations being then in alliance with Spain. Several of the pirates were either taken or ſunk, with all the cargo they had on board their ſhips; the reſt eſcaped to St. Domingo.

Such was the laſt memorable event in the hiſtory of the Buccaneers. The ſeparation of the Engliſh and French, when the war, on account of the Prince of Orange, divided the two nations; the ſucceſsful means they both made uſe of, to promote the cultivation of land among their colonies, by the aſſiſtance of theſe enterprizing men, and the prudence they ſhewed in fixing the moſt diſtinguiſhed among them and intruſting them with civil and military employments: the protection they were both under a neceſſity of affording to the Spaniſh ſettlements, which till then had been a general object of plunder: all theſe circumſtances, and various others, beſides the impoſſibility there

BOOK I.

there was of ſupplying the place of theſe remarkable men, who were continually dropping off, concurred to put an end to a ſociety, as extraordinary as ever exiſted. Without any regular ſyſtem, without laws, without any degree of ſubordination, and even without any fixed revenue, they became the aſtoniſhment of that age in which they lived, as they will be alſo of poſterity. They would have conquered all America, if conqueſt and not piracy had been the motive of their actions.

ENGLAND, France, and Spain, ſent at different times conſiderable fleets into the new world. The intemperance of the climate, the want of ſubſiſtence, the dejection of the troops, rendered the beſt concerted ſchemes unſucceſsful. Neither of theſe nations acquired any national glory, nor made any conſiderable progreſs by them. Upon the very ſcene of their diſgrace, and on the very ſpot where they were ſo ſhamefully repulſed, a ſmall number of adventurers, who had no other reſources to enable them to carry on a war, but what that afforded them, ſucceeded in the moſt difficult enterpriſes. They ſupplied the want of numbers and of power, by their authority, their vigilance, and bravery. An unbounded paſſion for liberty and independence, excited and kept up in them that energy of ſoul that enables it to undertake and execute every thing; it produced that vigour, that ſuperiority in action, which the moſt approved military diſcipline, the ſtrongeſt combinations of ſtrength, the beſt regulated governments, the moſt honourable and moſt ſtriking rewards and marks of diſtinction, will never be able to produce.

THE principle which actuated theſe extraordinary and romantic men, is not eaſily diſcovered. It cannot be aſcribed to want: the earth they trod upon, offered them immenſe treaſures, collected ready to their hand by

by men of inferior capacities. Can it then be imputed to avarice? But would they then have ſquandered away in a day the ſpoils acquired in a whole campaign? As they properly belonged to no country; they did not therefore ſacrifice themſelves for its defence, for the aggrandizing its territories, or revenging its quarrels. The love of glory, had they known it, would have prevented them from committing ſuch numberleſs enormities and crimes, which caſt a ſhade on all their brighteſt actions. A ſpirit of indolence and eaſe never made men ruſh into conſtant fatigues, and ſubmit to the greateſt poſſible dangers.

WHAT then were the moral reaſons that gave riſe to ſo ſingular a ſociety as that of the Buccaneers? That country where nature ſeems to have obtained a perpetual and abſolute power over the moſt turbulent paſſions; where the intemperate riot and intoxication occaſioned by public feſtivals, was neceſſary to rouſe men from an habitual ſtate of lethargy; where they lived ſatisfied with their tedious and indolent courſe of life: that country became at once inhabited by an ardent and impetuous people, who from the ſcorching heat of their atmoſphere, ſeem to have carried their ſentiments to the greateſt exceſs, and their paſſions to a degree of frenzy. Whilſt the heats of a burning climate enervated the old conquerors of the new world; whilſt the Spaniards, who were ſo reſtleſs and turbulent in their own country, enjoyed with the conquered Americans, a life habituated to eaſe and melancholy; a ſet of men, who had come out of the moſt temperate climates in Europe, went under the equator to acquire powers unknown before.

IF we are deſirous of finding out the origin of this revolution, we may perceive that it ariſes from the Buccaneers having lived under the ſhackles of European governments.

BOOK I.

vernments. The ſpirit of liberty being repreſſed for ſo many ages, exerted its power to a degree almoſt inconceivable, and occaſioned the moſt terrible effects that ever appeared in the moral world. Reſtleſs and enthuſiaſtic men of every nation joined themſelves to theſe adventurers, as ſoon as they heard of the ſucceſs they had met with. The charms of novelty, the idea of and deſire excited by diſtant objects, the want of a change in ſituation, the hopes of better fortune, the impulſe which excites the imagination to the undertaking of great actions, admiration, which eaſily induces men to imitation, the neceſſity of getting the better of thoſe impediments that are the conſequences of imprudence, the force of example, and the being equally partakers of the ſame good and bad fortune among thoſe who have freely aſſociated together; in a word, the temporary ferment the elements, combined with fortune, had raiſed in the minds of men, alternately elevated to the greateſt proſperity, or ſunk in the deepeſt diſtreſs; at one time ſtained with blood and rapine, at another plunged into voluptuouſneſs, rendered the Buccaneers a people wholly diſtinct in hiſtory; but a people whoſe duration was ſo tranſient, that its glory laſted, as it were, but a moment.

We are, however, accuſtomed to conſider theſe ruffians with a kind of abhorrence. This they deſerve; as the inſtances of fidelity, integrity, diſintereſtedneſs, and generoſity, they ſhewed to one another, did not prevent them from committing ſuch actions as are a diſgrace to humanity. But amidſt ſuch enormities, it is impoſſible not to be ſtruck with a variety of brave and noble actions, that would have reflected honour on the moſt virtuous people.

Some Buccaneers had agreed for a certain ſum to guard a Spaniſh ſhip, very richly laden. One of them ventured

ventured to propoſe to his companions to enrich themſelves at once, by making themſelves maſters of the ſhip. The famous Montauban, who was the commander of the troop, had no ſooner heard the propoſal, than he deſired to reſign the command, and to be ſet on ſhore. What! replied theſe brave men, would you then leave us? Is there any one who approves of the treachery that you abhor? A council was immediately held; and it was determined, that the guilty perſon ſhould be thrown upon the firſt coaſt they came to. They took an oath, that ſo diſhoneſt a man ſhould never be admitted in any expedition in which any of the brave men preſent ſhould be concerned, as they would think themſelves diſhonoured by ſuch a connection. If this is not to be looked upon as an inſtance of heroiſm, muſt we then expect to meet with heroes in an age, in which every thing great is turned into ridicule, under the idea of enthuſiaſm?

Cauſes that prevented the Engliſh and Dutch from making any conqueſt in America, during the war for the Spaniſh ſucceſſion.

AMERICA had ſcarcely recovered from the ravages ſhe had ſuſtained: ſhe had ſcarce begun to be ſenſible of the advantages ſhe derived from the induſtry of the Buccaneers, who were now become citizens and huſbandmen; when the old world exhibited the ſcene of ſuch a revolution, as alarmed and terrified the new. Charles the ſecond, king of Spain, had juſt ended his life of trouble and anxiety. His ſubjects, perſuaded that a deſcendent of the houſe of Bourbon, was only fit to preſerve the monarchy entire, had urged him towards the cloſe of his life, to appoint the duke of Anjou his ſucceſſor. The idea of having the government of two and twenty kingdoms devolve to a family that was not only his rival, but his enemy, had filled him with the moſt gloomy apprehenſions. But after ſeveral internal ſtruggles, and numberleſs marks of irreſolution, he at laſt prevailed upon himſelf to ſhew an example of juſtice, and

BOOK I.

greatneſs of ſoul, which the natural weakneſs of his character gave little reaſon to expect from him.

EUROPE, tired out for half a century, with the haughtineſs, ambition, and tyranny, of Lewis the XIVth, exerted its combined forces to prevent the increaſe of a power already become too formidable. The fatal effects of a bad adminiſtration, had entirely enervated the Spaniards; the ſpirit of ſuperſtition, and conſequently of weakneſs, that prevailed then in France, had procured ſuch advantages to the league, as are hardly to be paralleled from the union of ſeveral powers againſt a ſingle one. This league gained an influence, that was increaſed by the victories, equally glorious and beneficial, it obtained every campaign. Both kingdoms were ſoon left without ſtrength or fame. To add to their misfortunes, their calamities were a general object of joy, and none were touched with a ſenſe of compaſſion at the miſeries they experienced.

ENGLAND and Holland, after having profuſely laviſhed their blood and treaſures in defence of the Emperor, thought it neceſſary to attend to their own intereſts in America. This country invited them to rich as well as eaſy conqueſts. Spain, ſince the deſtruction of its galleons at Vigo, had no ſhips; and France, after having experienced that fatal reverſe of fortune that had reduced her to the loweſt ebb, had neglected her marine. This bad management was owing to a diſtant cauſe.

LEWIS the XIVth was, in his earlier age, ambitious of every thing that might add to his glory, and conſequently imagined, that without a navy, the ſplendor of his reign would in ſome degree be diminiſhed. It is more than probable, that he conſidered his fleet as one of the means that would tend to fill all nations with admiration, to puniſh the Genoeſe and Algerines, and con-

vey

vey the terror of his name to the extremities of the globe. Had he, in that plan of greatneſs he was deſirous of acquiring to himſelf, conſidered a naval power as a part of it, he would have intimated Cromwell, and encouraged navigation, which ſupports a marine by commerce. Falſe ideas of things miſled him in this particular. In proportion as the reſtleſſneſs of his temper excited him freſh enemies, and that he found himſelf obliged to maintain a greater number of troops in conſtant pay; that the frontiers of the kingdom were extended, and that his forts were more numerous, the number of his ſhips decreaſed. He made uſe of part of the funds that were deſtined to eſtabliſh his maritime power, even before his neceſſities obliged him to it. The frequent removals of the court, public buildings that were either uſeleſs or too magnificent, objects of oſtentation or of mere pleaſure, and various other cauſes, equally trifling, drained the money that ought to have been employed in ſupporting his navy. From that time, this part of the power of France began to grow weak: it inſenſibly declined, and was entirely loſt in the misfortunes of the war that was raiſed for the Spaniſh ſucceſſion.

At this period the acquiſitions the Spaniſh and French had made in the Weſt-Indies, were not put in a ſtate of defence. They were, therefore, the more likely ſoon to become the property of Great-Britain and the United provinces; the only modern nations who had eſtabliſhed their political influence upon the principles of commerce. The vaſt diſcoveries of the Spaniards and Portugueſe, had given them, indeed, an excluſive poſſeſſion of thoſe treaſures and productions that ſeemed to promiſe them the empire of the world, if riches could obtain it: but theſe nations, intoxicated as they were with gold and bloodſhed, had never ſo much as ſuſpect-

BOOK I.

ed that their poſſeſſions in the new world could ſupport their power in the old. The Engliſh and Dutch went into the contrary extreme, building their opinions upon the ſyſtem of the influence they ſuppoſed America muſt neceſſarily give to Europe. A ſyſtem which they not only miſapplied, but carried to exceſs.

THESE two nations, one of which had no natural advantages, and the other very inconſiderable ones, had from the earlieſt period hit upon the true principles of commerce, and purſued them with greater perſeverance that might have been expected from the different ſituations they had been engaged in. Accidental circumſtances having at firſt animated the induſtry of the pooreſt of theſe nations, ſhe found herſelf very quickly equalled by her rival power, whoſe genius was more lively, and whoſe reſources were much greater. The war, occaſioned by a ſpirit of induſtry, and excited by jealouſy, ſoon degenerated into fierce, obſtinate, and bloody engagements. Theſe were not merely ſuch hoſtilities as are carried on between two different people; they reſembled rather the hatred and revenge of one private man againſt another. The neceſſity they were under of uniting, in order to check and reſtrain the power of France, ſuſpended theſe hoſtilities. The ſucceſs they met with, which was, perhaps, too rapid and deciſive, revived their former animoſity. From the apprehenſion they were under, that each ſtate was labouring for the aggrandizing of the other, they entirely neglected the invaſion of America. Queen Anne at length availing herſelf of a favourable opportunity, for concluding a ſeparate peace, procured ſuch advantageous terms, as gave the Engliſh a great ſuperiority over their rivals the Dutch. From that time England became of the greateſt importance

tance in the political ſyſtem of Europe, and Holland was totally diſregarded.

THE years ſucceeding the peace of Utrecht, revived the ideas of the golden age to the world, which would be always in a ſufficient ſtate of tranquillity, if the Europeans did not diſturb its peace, by carrying their arms and their diſſenſions into every quarter of the globe. The fields were now no more covered with dead bodies. The harveſt of the huſbandman was not laid waſte. The ſailor ventured to ſhew his flag in every ſea without dread of pirates. Mothers no more ſaw their children forced from them, to laviſh their blood at the caprice of a weak monarch, or an ambitious miniſter. Nations did not then unite to gratify the paſſions of their ſovereigns. For ſome time, men lived together as brethren, as much, at leaſt, as the pride of princes and the avidity of the people would allow.

THOUGH this general happineſs was to be attributed to thoſe who held the reins of government, yet the general improvements of reaſon contributed, in ſome degree, to produce it. Philoſophy then began to lay open and recommend the ſentiments of benevolence. The writings of ſome philoſophers had been made public or diſperſed among the people, and contributed to poliſh and refine their manners. This ſpirit of moderation had inſpired men with the love of the more uſeful and pleaſing arts of life, and abated, at leaſt, the deſire they till then had of deſtroying one another. The thirſt of blood ſeemed to be aſſuaged, and all nations, with the aſſiſtance of the diſcoveries they had made, ardently ſet about the improvement of their population, agriculture and manufactures.

THIS ſpirit of activity exerted itſelf principally in the Caribbees. The ſtates upon the continent can ſubſiſt,

BOOK I.

and even flouriſh, when the rage of war is kindled in their neighbourhood and on their frontiers; becauſe the principal object of their attention is the culture of their lands, their manufactures, their ſubſiſtence and internal conſumptions. The caſe is very different with regard to thoſe ſettlements that different nations have formed in the great Archipelago of America. In theſe, life and property are equally precarious. None of the neceſſaries of life are the natural produce of the climate. Wearing apparel and the inſtruments of huſbandry, are not even made in the country. All their commodities are intended for exportation. Nothing but an eaſy and ſafe communication with Africa, with the northern coaſts of the new world, but principally with Europe, can procure theſe iſlands that free circulation of the neceſſaries of life they receive, and of thoſe ſuperfluities they give in exchange for them. The more the coloniſts had ſuffered from the effects of that long and dreadful commotion, that had thrown every thing into confuſion, the greater was their vigilance in endeavouring to repair the loſſes their fortunes had ſuſtained. The very hopes entertained that the general weakneſs would inſure a laſting tranquillity, encouraged the moſt cautious merchants to ſupply the coloniſts with goods in advance; a circumſtance that contributed greatly to quicken the progreſs they made, which, notwithſtanding all their care and attention, would otherwiſe have been very ſlow. Theſe aſſiſtances inſured as well as increaſed the proſperity of the iſlands, till a ſtorm, that had been a long time gathering, broke out in the year 1739, and diſturbed the peace of the world.

Theiſlands of America are the cauſe of the war in 1739.

THE Engliſh colonies, but chiefly Jamaica, had carried on a contraband trade with the Spaniſh ſettlements in the new world, which cuſtom had long made them con-

conſider as lawful. The court of Madrid, becoming better acquainted with its intereſts, concerted meaſures to put a ſtop to, or at leaſt to check this intercourſe. The plan might poſſibly be prudent, but it was neceſſary it ſhould be put in execution with equity. If the ſhips that were intended to prevent this fraudulent trade had only ſtopped thoſe veſſels that were concerned in it, this meaſure would have deſerved commendation. But the abuſes inſeparable from violent meaſures, the eagerneſs of gain, and, perhaps too, a ſpirit of revenge, incited them to ſtop, under the pretext of their carrying on a contraband trade, many ſhips which in reality had a legal deſtination.

ENGLAND whoſe ſecurity, power and glory is founded upon commerce, could not very patiently brook that any checks ſhould be put to it; but were highly incenſed when they found that theſe grievances were carried to an exceſs inconſiſtent with the law of nations. In London and in parliament general complaints were made againſt the authors of them, and invectives againſt the miniſter who ſuffered them. Walpole, who had long ruled Great Britain, and whoſe character and abilities were better adapted to peace than war, and the Spaniſh council which ſhewed leſs ſpirit as the ſtorm increaſed, concerted together terms of reconciliation. Thoſe fixed upon, and ſigned at Pardo, were not approved by a people equally inflamed by its intereſts, its reſentments, and by party ſpirit, and eſpecially by the number of political writings that were conſtantly publiſhed on the ſubject.

ENGLAND teems daily with numberleſs productions of the preſs, in which all the concerns of the nation are treated with freedom. Among theſe writings ſome are judicious, written by men of underſtanding, or citizens well informed and zealous for the public good.

BOOK I.

Their advice contributes to diſcover to the public their true intereſts, and to aſſiſt the operations of government. Few uſeful regulations of internal oeconomy are adopted in the ſtate, that have not firſt been pointed out, modelled, or improved in ſome of theſe writings. Unhappy are the people who are deprived of ſuch an advantage. But among the few ſenſible men, who ſerve to enlighten their country, numbers are to be met with who either from a diſguſt to thoſe in power, or from a deſire of falling in with the taſte of the people, or from ſome perſonal motives, delight in raiſing up a ſpirit of diſſenſion and diſcontent. The means generally made uſe of for this purpoſe, are to heighten the pretenſions of their country beyond their juſt and legal bounds, and to make the people conſider the ſmalleſt precautions taken by other powers for the preſervation of their poſſeſſions, as viſible encroachments. Theſe exaggerations, equally the offspring of partiality and falſehood, eſtabliſh prejudices the effects of which occaſion the nation to be conſtantly at war with its neighbours. If government, from a deſire of preſerving the balance of juſtice between itſelf and other powers, ſhould refuſe to yield to popular prejudices, it finds itſelf, at length, under a neceſſity of doing it.

THE mob of London, the moſt contemptible of any in the univerſe, as the people of England conſidered in a political view, are the firſt people in the world; abetted by twenty thouſand young men, the ſons of diſtinguiſhed merchants, by their clamours and threats, beſet the parliament houſe, and influence its deliberations. Such tumults are frequently excited by a party in the parliament itſelf. Theſe deſpicable men, once rouzed, revile the moſt reſpectable citizen, who has incurred their diſpleaſure and been rendered ſuſpicious to them;

them: they ſet fire to his houſe, and ſcandalouſly inſult the moſt ſacred characters. The tumult can never be appeaſed, unleſs they force the miniſtry to yield to their fury. This indirect, though continual influence of commerce upon the public meaſures, was, perhaps, never ſo ſenſibly felt as at the period we are ſpeaking of.

ENGLAND began the war ſucceſsfully and with much ſuperior advantages. She had a great number of ſailors on foot. Her ſtorehouſes filled with warlike ammunitions, and her dock-yards were in the moſt flouriſhing condition. Her fleets were all in readineſs and commanded by experienced officers, waited only for orders to go out, and ſpread the terror and glory of her flag to the extremities of the world. Walpole, by neglecting ſuch great advantages, muſt not be cenſured as having betrayed his country. In this particular he is above ſuſpicion, ſince he was never even accuſed of corruption, in a country where ſuch charges have been often made without being believed. His conduct, however, was not entirely irreproachable. The apprehenſion he was under of involving himſelf in difficulties that might endanger his adminiſtration; the neceſſity he found of applying thoſe treaſures in military operations, that he had amaſſed to bribe and ſecure to himſelf a party, joined to that of impoſing new taxes, which muſt neceſſarily raiſe the averſion that had been entertained both for his perſon and principles, to the higheſt degree: all theſe, and ſome other circumſtances occaſioned an irreſolution in his conduct that was attended with the moſt fatal conſequences. He loſt time, which is of the utmoſt importance in every expedition, but particularly deciſive in all naval operations.

THE fleet that Vernon commanded, after having deſtroyed Porto-Bello, was unſucceſsful at Carthagena; rather

BOOK I.

rather from the badneſs of the climate, the miſunderſtanding and inexperience of the officers, than the valour of the garriſon. Anſon's fleet was loſt at the doubling of Cape Horn, which ſome months ſooner might have been performed without danger. If we were to judge of what he might have done with his whole ſquadron, from what he actually executed with a ſingle ſhip, it is not improbable but that he would at leaſt have ſhaken the empire of the Spaniards in the South Sea. A ſettlement that was attempted in the iſland of Cuba was not proſperous. Thoſe who intended building a city there, all died. General Oglethorpe, after having opened the trenches for thirty-eight days, was forced to raiſe the ſiege of Fort St. Auſtin in Florida, vigorouſly defended by Manuel Montiano, who had time enough to prepare himſelf againſt the attack.

THOUGH the firſt efforts of the Engliſh againſt Spaniſh America, were not ſucceſsful, yet the alarm was not appeaſed. The navy, the character, and government of the Engliſh, were three great reſources they had ſtill left, ſufficient to make the Spaniards tremble. In vain did France unite her naval powers, to act in conjunction with thoſe of Spain. This confederacy neither checked the intrepidity of the common enemy, nor animated the minds of ſuch as were overwhelmed with fear. Fortunately for both nations, as well as for America, the death of the emperor Charles the VIth, had kindled in Europe an obſtinate war, in which the Britiſh troops were detained, to ſupport an intereſt that was extremely doubtful. The hoſtilities, commenced in diſtant countries with ſuch great preparations, terminated at laſt inſenſibly in a few piracies, that were committed on both ſides. The moſt remarkable event that happended at that time, was the taking of Cape-Breton, which expoſed the fiſhery, commerce, and

and colonies of France, to the greateſt dangers. This valuable poſſeſſion was reſtored to the French at the peace; but the treaty that gave it up, was not leſs the object of cenſure.

THE French, ever influenced by a ſpirit of chivalry, that has ſo long been the dazzling folly of all Europe, imagine the ſacrifice of their lives ſufficiently compenſated, if it has contributed to extend the frontiers of their country; that is to ſay, when they have compelled their prince to the neceſſity of governing them with leſs attention and equity than he did before; but if their territory remains the ſame as it was before the war, they then think their honour is loſt. This rage for conqueſt, excuſable indeed in a barbarous age, but which more enlightened ones ſhould never be reproached with, threw diſgrace on the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which reſtored to Auſtria all the places that had been taken from her. The nation, too trifling and capricious, to attend to political diſcuſſions, could not be convinced, that by forming any kind of eſtabliſhment for the infant Don Philip, an alliance with Spain was effectually ſecured; that ſhe herſelf was thereby engaged to adjuſt, with the houſe of Auſtria, ſome intereſts of the greateſt importance: that by becoming guarantees to the king of Pruſſia for Sileſia, two rival powers would in conſequence of ſuch an arrangement be formed in Germany; to produce which happy effect had been the labour and care of two centuries: that by reſtoring Friburg, and thoſe towns in Flanders that had been deſtroyed, they would be eaſily retaken, if war ſhould again be declared and carried on with vigour: beſides, that the number of land forces might always be very eaſily leſſened of fifty thouſand men, and the ſaving which ſuch a reduction would produce, might and ought to be employed in increaſing the navy.

BOOK I.

If therefore the French nation had not even been obliged to attend to the management of her affairs at home, which were then in a very alarming ſtate; if her credit and commerce had not been entirely ruined: if ſome of her moſt conſiderable provinces had not been in the greateſt diſtreſs: if ſhe had not loſt the key of Canada; if her colonies had not been threatned with certain and immediate invaſion: if her marine had not been ſo entirely deſtroyed, as ſcarcely to have a ſhip left to ſend into the new world; and if Spain had not been upon the point of concluding a ſeparate treaty with England: independent of all theſe circumſtances, yet peace, as it was then agreed to, would have deſerved the approbation of the moſt ſenſible and judicious men.

The eaſe with which Marſhal Saxe penetrated into the internal provinces of the Netherlands, was an object that particularly attracted the French. It will readily be allowed, that nothing ſeemed impoſſible to the victorious arms of Lewis the XIVth; but it may be thought paradoxical to aſſert, that the Engliſh were extremely deſirous of ſeeing the Dutch ſubdued. If the republic, which could not poſſibly ſeparate itſelf from its allies, had been conquered, its inhabitants, filled as they were with ancient as well as preſent prejudices againſt the government, laws, manners, and religion of their conqueror, would hardly have ſubmitted to his dominion. Would they not certainly have conveyed their people, their ſtock, and their induſtry, to Great-Britain? And can there be the leaſt doubt whether ſuch conſiderable advantages would not have been infinitely more valuable to the Engliſh, than an alliance with the Dutch?

To this obſervation let us venture to add another, which though not attended to before, will, perhaps, ſeem not leſs evident. The court of Vienna has been thought

thought either very fortunate, or very ſkilful, to have been able by the means of negociations, to have wreſted out of the hands of the French thoſe places which had been taken from her during the war. But would ſhe not have been more fortunate, or more ſkilful, had ſhe let her enemy keep part of the conqueſts obtained over her? That period is now paſſed, when the houſe of Auſtria was equal, or perhaps, ſuperior to the houſe of Bourbon. Policy, therefore, ſhould have engaged her to intereſt other powers in her fortune, even from the loſſes ſhe had ſuſtained. This ſhe might have effected by ſacrificing ſomething, apparently at leaſt, to France. Europe, alarmed at the increaſing power of this monarchy, which is naturally hated, envied, and dreaded, would have renewed that ſpirit of animoſity that had been ſworn againſt Lewis the XIVth; and more formidable leagues would neceſſarily have been formed in conſequence of ſuch ſentiments. This general diſpoſition of people was more likely to have recovered the greatneſs of the new houſe of Auſtria, than the re-acquiſition of a diſtant and limited territory, always open to an attack.

It is probable, however, that the French plenipotentiary, who managed the negociation, as well as the miniſter, who directed it, would have ſeen through the artifice. We do not even ſcruple to aſſert, that neither of them had any view of extending the French dominions. But would they have found the ſame penetration to unravel political deſigns in the council, to which they were reſponſible for their conduct? This is a point we cannot preſume to determine. All governments are generally inclined to extend their territories, and that of France is, from its conſtitution, equally ſo.

But whatever truth there may be in theſe reflections, it muſt be allowed, that the expectations of the two

BOOK I.

two French miniſters, who ſettled the peace, were diſappointed. The principal object they had in view was the preſervation of the colonies, that had been threatened by the enemy. But as ſoon as the danger was over, this unbounded ſource of opulence was neglected. France kept on foot a large body of troops, retained in her pay a great part of Germany, and acted in the ſame manner as if another Charles the 5th had threatened her frontiers; or another Philip the 2d could have thrown the internal parts of the kingdom into confuſion by his intrigues. She was not ſenſible that her ſuperiority upon the continent was acknowledged, that no ſingle power could venture to attack her; and that the event of the laſt war, and the arrangements ſettled by the laſt peace, had rendered the union of ſeveral powers againſt her impoſſible. A thouſand equally weak and trifling apprehenſions diſturbed her tranquility. Her prejudices prevented her from perceiving that ſhe had only one enemy really deſerving her attention, and that this enemy could only be checked by a conſiderable fleet.

THE Engliſh, naturally more inclined to envy the proſperity of others than to enjoy their own, are not only deſirous of becoming rich, but of being excluſively ſo. Their ambition is gain, as that of the Romans was empire. They do not properly ſeek to extend their dominions, but their colonies. Commerce is the ſole object of all the wars they are engaged in, and the deſire of engroſſing it all to themſelves, has made them perform many great actions, and commit the moſt flagrant acts of injuſtice. This paſſion is ſo powerful that even their philoſophers are not free from it. The celebrated Mr. Boyle uſed to ſay, that it would be a commendable action to preach chriſtianity to the ſavages; becauſe, were they to know only ſo much of it

it as would convince them of their obligation to wear clothes, it would prove of great ſervice to the Engliſh manufactures.

America was the cauſe of the war in 1755.

A ſyſtem of this nature, that the Engliſh have ſcarcely ever loſt ſight of, diſcovered itſelf more openly in 1755, than it had ever done before. The rapid improvements made in the French colonies ſurpriſed every attentive mind, and awakened the jealouſy of the Engliſh. Aſhamed however, to let it appear at firſt, they concealed it for ſome time under myſterious diſguiſes; and a people who have pride or modeſty enough to term negociations the *artillery of their enemies*, did not ſcruple to employ all the windings and artifices of the moſt inſidious policy.

FRANCE, alarmed at the confuſed ſtate of her finances, intimidated by the ſmall number of her ſhips, and the inexperience of her admirals; ſeduced by a love of eaſe, pleaſure and tranquility, favoured the attempts that were made to deceive her. In vain did ſome able ſtateſmen continually urge that Great-Britain was and ought to be deſirous of a war; and that ſhe was compelled to begin it, before the military navy of her rival had attained to the ſame perfection with that of her trading navy. Theſe cauſes of apprehenſion ſeemed abſurd in a country where trade had been hitherto carried on by a ſpirit of imitation only; where it had been ſhackled by every ſpecies of reſtraint, and always ſacrificed to finance; where it had never met with any real encouragement, and men were, perhaps, ignorant that they were in poſſeſſion of the moſt valuable and richeſt commerce in the world. The nation, indebted to nature for a moſt excellent ſoil, to chance for her colonies; to the vivacity and pliancy of her diſpoſition for a taſte in thoſe arts which vary and increaſe the enjoyments of life; to her conqueſts and her literary merit, and even to the diſperſion of the proteſtants

BOOK I.

tants ſhe had unfortunately loſt, for the deſire excited in other countries of imitating her: this nation, that would be too happy, were ſhe permitted to enjoy her happineſs, would not perceive that ſhe might be deprived of ſome of theſe advantages, and inſenſibly fell a ſacrifice to thoſe arts employed to lull her into ſecurity. When the Engliſh thought there was no further occaſion to diſſemble, they commenced hoſtilities, without having previouſly paid any attention to thoſe formalities, that are in uſe among civilized people.

THOUGH a declaration of war were only a mere ceremony between nations, which ſeem to be bound by no ties as ſoon as they intend to maſſacre one another; yet it is very evident, that the Britiſh miniſtry gave reaſon to do ſomething more than ſuſpect the injuſtice of its conduct. The weakneſs of their meaſures, the perplexity of their operations, the various modes of juſtification they adopted, and the influence they in vain exerted to make parliament approve ſo ſcandalous a violation; theſe with ſeveral other circumſtances plainly diſcovered the guilt of their proceeding. If thoſe weak miniſters, of ſo great a power, had been as bold in committing crimes, as they were uninfluenced by the laws of virtue, they would have formed a project of the moſt extenſive nature. When they unjuſtly gave orders to attack all the French ſhips upon the northern coaſt of America, they would have extended theſe orders to every ſea. The ruin of the only power that was capable of making any reſiſtance, would have been the neceſſary conſequence of ſuch a ſtrong confederacy. Its fall would have intimidated all other nations, and wherever the Engliſh flag had appeared, it would have commanded obedience in every quarter of the world. A ſucceſs ſo remarkable and deciſive would have made the multitude overlook the violation of public right, would have juſtified it to the

the political world, and the remonſtrances of the wiſe, would have been loſt in the clamours of the ignorant and *ambitious*.

The beginning of the war unfavourable to the Engliſh.

A WEAK, but ſtill an unjuſt conduct, was attended with very contrary effects. The miniſtry of George the IId was hated as well as deſpiſed over all Europe. France, though unexpectedly attacked, was victorious in Canada, gained conſiderable advantages by ſea, took Minorca, and threatened London itſelf. Her rival was then ſenſible of the truth of what men of underſtanding had long ſince obſerved even in England, that the French united the greateſt contrarieties in their character; that they blended virtues and vices, marks of weakneſs and ſtrength, that had always been thought inconſiſtent with each other: that they were brave, though effeminate; equally addicted to pleaſure and glory; ſerious in trifles, and trifling in matters of importance; ever diſpoſed to war, and ready to attack: in a word, mere children, ſuffering themſelves, as the Athenians of old, to be diſquieted and moved to anger for intereſts, whether real or imaginary; fond of enterprize, ready to follow any guide, and comforted in the greateſt diſtreſſes with the moſt trifling ſucceſs. The Engliſh, who according to a vulgar, though ſtrong expreſſion of Swift's, are *always in the cellar or in the garret*, and know no medium, began then to be too much afraid of a nation that they had unjuſtly deſpiſed. A ſpirit of deſpondency ſucceeded to that of preſumption.

THE nation, deceived by the too great confidence it had placed in its opulence; humiliated by the introduction of foreign troops, and by the moral character and inability of its governors; weakened too by the colliſion of factions, which keep up an exertion of ſtrength among a free people in times of peace, but which deſtroy their power in times of war: the nation, diſgraced, aſtoniſh-

BOOK I.

ed, and uncertain what meaſures to purſue; equally ſenſible of the diſtreſſes it had already been expoſed to, as of thoſe it foreſaw, was incapable of exerting itſelf to revenge the one, or prevent the other. All zeal for the common cauſe was confined to the granting of immenſe ſupplies. That the coward is ſooner diſpoſed to part with his money than the brave man, in order to ward off the danger, and that the preſent critical ſituation of affairs required them not to conſider who ſhould pay, but who ſhould ſtand forward to fight: theſe were truths, which at that time ſeemed to have been forgotten.

THE French, on the contrary, were dazzled with ſome inſtances of ſucceſs that were of no conſequence. Preſuming, that the ſurprize their enemies had been thrown into, was a proof of their weakneſs, they involved themſelves further than was conſiſtent with their intereſt, in the troubles that then began to divide the German powers.

A SYSTEM, which if unſucceſsful, muſt have been attended with the greateſt diſgrace, and if fortunate, muſt have been deſtructive in the end, ſerved to confound them. Their vanity made them forget, that a few months before, they had applauded the wiſe and enlightened ſtateſman, who being deſirous to avoid a land war, which ſome miniſters were willing to enter into, from their deſpairing of ſucceſs at ſea, had, with the vivacity and confidence peculiar to genius, addreſſed himſelf to them in the following words: *Gentlemen*, ſaid he, *let us all, who are here preſent in council, go out with torches in our hands, and ſet fire to all our ſhips; if they are uſeleſs to our defence, and are only conducive to make our enemies inſult us.* This political infatuation, threw them into the greateſt difficulties. Errors of the cabinet were followed by military faults. The management of the army was ſubjected to the intrigues of the court.

court. A ſeries of bad ſucceſs was the conſequence of a perpetual change of commanders. This light and ſuperficial nation did not perceive, that even ſuppoſing, what indeed was impoſſible, that all thoſe who were ſucceſſively intruſted with the direction of the military operations, had really been men of abilities, yet they could not contend with advantage againſt a man of genius, aſſiſted by a man of diſtinguiſhed capacity. Misfortunes made no alteration in the ſyſtem they had formed, and the changes of generals were endleſs. BOOK I.

WHILST the French were thus deceived, the Engliſh, from a ſpirit of dejection, proceeded to the moſt violent fury: they changed a miniſtry that had juſtly given general diſſatisfaction, and placed a man at the head of affairs who was equally an enemy to timid meaſures, to the royal prerogative, and to France. Though this choice was the conſequence of that ſpirit of party which cauſes the greateſt revolutions in England, yet it was ſuch as the circumſtances of the time required. William Pitt, a favourite from his youth in the three kingdoms, on account of his integrity and diſintereſtedneſs, his zeal againſt corruption, and his inviolable attachment to the intereſts of the public; had a ſoul formed for great deſigns; was diſtinguiſhed by a ſpecies of eloquence, that never failed to captivate the minds of his hearers, and by a character equally firm and enterprizing. He was ambitious to make his country riſe ſuperior to all others, and at the ſame time to raiſe his own fame. His enthuſiaſm fired a nation, which will always be inſpired by a love of liberty. The admiral who had ſuffered Minorca to be taken, was arreſted, thrown into priſon, accuſed, tried, and ſentenced to death. Neither his rank, his abilities, his family, nor his friends, could protect him from the rigour of the law. His own ſhip was the ſpot fixed upon

BOOK I.

on for the execution of his ſentence. All Europe, at the news of this melancholy event, was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, blended with admiration and horror. It recalled the memory of the ancient republics. The death of Byng, whether he was guilty or not, proclaimed in the moſt alarming manner, to thoſe who were employed by the nation, what fate they muſt expect, if they betrayed the confidence repoſed in them. Every man ſaid within himſelf at the inſtant of battle: It is on this field I muſt die, rather than with infamy on a ſcaffold. Thus the blood of one man, accuſed of cowardice, was productive of a ſpirit of heroiſm.

THIS ſyſtem of holding out an example of terror to ſubdue the impreſſions of fear, was further ſtrengthened by an emulation, that ſeemed to promiſe the revival of public ſpirit. Diſſipation, pleaſure, indolence, and frequently vice, and a corruption of manners, occaſion warm and numerous intimacies in moſt kingdoms of Europe. The Engliſh have little intercourſe and connection with each other; they have, perhaps, leſs taſte for ſocial life than other nations, but the idea of any project that may be ſerviceable to the ſtate, immediately unites them, and they ſeem, as it were, animated by one ſoul. All ranks, parties, and ſects, contribute to inſure its ſucceſs, and with ſuch liberality as cannot be paralleled in thoſe places where the notion of a particular native country does not prevail. This zeal is more remarkably diſtinguiſhed when the nation has placed an implicit confidence in the miniſter who has the direction of public meaſures. As ſoon as Mr. Pitt was made prime miniſter, a marine ſociety was eſtabliſhed, which perceiving that there appeared a remiſſneſs in general to enter into the ſea ſervice, and diſapproving the cuſtom of preſſing men into it, invited the children of the pooreſt claſs in the three kingdoms, to become ſhip boys,

boys, and their fathers ſailors. They undertook to pay the expences of their voyage; to take care of them in ſickneſs; feed, clothe, and furniſh them with every thing neceſſary to preſerve their health during the time they were to be at ſea. The king, ſtruck with this inſtance of patriotiſm, gave them 22,500 livres; (984*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*) the prince of Wales 9000 livres, (393*l.* 15*s.*) and the princeſs of Wales 4500, (196*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*) The actors of the different theatres, whoſe abilities this enlightened nation has had the generoſity to pay a proper attention to, acted their beſt plays for the increaſe of ſo reſpectable an eſtabliſhment. The theatres were never ſo much crouded as on this occaſion. A hundred of theſe ſhip boys, and a hundred of the ſailors, clothed from a zeal that may truly be held ſacred, appeared upon the ſtage; a decoration this ſurely not inferior to that ariſing from the elegance of dreſs, and the brilliancy of jewels.

The Engliſh are rouſed from their lethargy, and ſeize the French and Spaniſh iſlands.

THIS public zeal and attachment to the intereſts of the nation, animated the minds of all the Engliſh, and the effects of it were diſplayed in the difference of their conduct. They ravaged the coaſts of their enemies; beat them every where by ſea; intercepted their navigation, and gave a check to all their forces in Weſtphalia. They drove them out of North-America, Africa, and the Eaſt-Indies. Till Mr. Pitt became miniſter, all the expeditions of the nation, made in diſtant countries, had been unſucceſsful, and muſt neceſſarily have been ſo, becauſe they had been ill concerted. He, on the contrary, planned ſuch prudent and uſeful deſigns; his preparations were conducted with ſo much foreſight and diſpatch; his means were ſo well adapted to the ends he wanted to obtain; the confidants of his meaſures ſo well choſen; he eſtabliſhed ſo much harmony between the land and ſea forces, and raiſed the ſpirits of the

BOOK I.

Engliſh to ſuch a height, that his whole adminiſtration was a ſeries of conqueſts. He uſed to ſay with Philip, father of Alexander the Great, *That victory was to be purchaſed by money, and that money muſt not be ſpared at the expence of victory.*

By ſuch a conduct, and ſuch principles, Mr. Pitt had always been ſucceſsful againſt France in every place. He purſued them to their moſt valuable iſlands, even to their ſugar plantations. Theſe poſſeſſions, ſo juſtly prized for their importance, were not, however, better ſecured. The fortifications that were erected there, were conſtructed without judgment, and were in a ruinous ſtate. Ever ſince the beginning of hoſtilities, all intercourſe between theſe great ſettlements and the mother country, had been at an end. They could neither receive neceſſaries from it, nor enrich it with their productions. The buildings neceſſary for the carrying on of agriculture, were a heap of ruins. The maſters and the ſlaves, equally deſtitute of the neceſſaries of life, were obliged to feed upon the cattle deſtined for the works of huſbandry. If any greedy navigators ever reached them, it was through ſo many dangers, that the coloniſts were obliged to pay for what they bought of theſe traders at the deareſt rates, and to give them in exchange whatever they choſe to take from them at the loweſt price. Though the coloniſts did not call in the aid of any foreign power to their aſſiſtance, yet it was not to be expected, that their attachments to their mother country, would induce them to make a vigorous defence againſt an enemy that might put an end to their diſtreſſes.

In this ſituation of affairs, ten ſhips of the line, ſome bomb-ketches, and frigates, with five thouſand land forces, ſailed from England, and arrived at Guadalupe. They appeared before the town on the 22d of January, 1759, and the next day bombarded the town of Baſſe-Terre,

Terre. If the beſiegers had known how to take advantage of the terror they had ſpread, the iſland would have made a very ſhort reſiſtance: but the ſlowneſs, timidity, and irreſolution of their operations, afforded the garriſon and the inhabitants leiſure to fortify themſelves in a paſs that was at the diſtance of two leagues from the place. From this ſpot they ſtopped the progreſs of the enemy, who were equally diſtreſſed from the heat of the climate and the want of proviſions. The Engliſh, deſpairing of making themſelves maſters of the colony on this ſide, proceed to attack it in another quarter, known by the name of Grande-Terre. It was defended by a fort called Fort Lewis, which made leſs reſiſtance than that of Baſſe-Terre, which ſurrendered in four and twenty hours. The conquerors were again guilty of the error they had before fallen into, and ſuffered the ſame inconveniences from it. The event of the expedition began to be doubtful, when Barrington, who ſucceeded to the command at the death of Hopſon, changed the plan of operations. He gave up the idea of penetrating into the country, and re-imbarked his ſoldiers, who ſucceſſively attacked the houſes and villages upon the coaſts. The ravages they committed, obliged the colonies to ſubmit. The whole iſland, after three months defence, ſurrendered on the 21ſt day of April, upon honourable terms of capitulation.

The troops that had obtained this victory did not engage in this expedition, till they had ineffectually threatened Martinico. Three years after, Great-Britain revived a deſign that had been too haſtily given up, but greater preparations and more effectual means were employed to carry it into execution. On the 16th of January 1762, eighteen battalions, ſent from Europe and from North-America, under the command

BOOK I.

of general Monckton, and eighteen ſhips of the line, commanded by admiral Rodney, appeared before the capital of the iſland. The landing of the troops the next day was ſoon effected, without difficulty, and without loſs. To take poſſeſſion of the eminences that were fortified and defended by Fort Royal, ſeemed to be a matter not ſo eaſily accompliſhed. Theſe obſtacles, however, were after ſome warm engagements ſurmounted, and the place that would ſoon have been reduced to aſhes by the bombs, capitulated on the 9th of February; and the whole colony did the ſame on the 13th. It is probable that the proſperity of Guadalupe, under the Britiſh Government, contributed to bring about this general ſurrender; which might and ought to have been delayed longer. Granada, and the other Leeward iſlands, whether ſubject to France, or which, though peopled by Frenchmen, were neutral, ſurrendered themſelves without making any reſiſtance.

St. Domingo, the only poſſeſſion the French ſtill retained in the great Archipelago of America was likely to fall into the hands of the Engliſh; and its loſs ſeemed to be not far diſtant. If it had not even been known that this was the firſt conqueſt Great-Britain would attempt, yet it could not be ſuppoſed that it would eſcape its avidity. Would this ambitious nation have checked the career of its own ſucceſſes ſo far as to give up all thoughts of a conqueſt that would have completed their proſperity? This was a point that ſeemed not to be doubtful. The colony was generally known to be defenceleſs, and therefore incapable of making the leaſt reſiſtance. They were ſo ſenſible of their weakneſs, that they ſeemed diſpoſed to ſurrender as ſoon as they ſhould be ſummoned to do it.

The

THE court of France was equally aſtoniſhed and alarmed at the loſſes it had ſuſtained, and at thoſe it foreſaw. They had expected ſuch an obſtinate reſiſtance as would have been ſuperior to every attack. The deſcendants of thoſe brave adventurers, who had ſettled theſe colonies, ſeemed a rampart ſufficient to repel all the forces of the Britiſh empire. They almoſt felt a ſecret ſatisfaction that the Engliſh were directing their efforts to that quarter. The miniſter had inſpired the nation with the ſame confidence that poſſeſſed him, and it was the mark of a bad citizen to ſhew the leaſt uneaſineſs.

IT is an obſervation, that we may now be allowed to make, that events, which had once happened, will happen again. A people whoſe whole fortunes conſiſts in fields and paſtures will, if influenced by any degree of ſpirit, reſolutely defend their poſſeſſions. The harveſt of one year is the utmoſt they can loſe, and whatever calamity they may experience, does not diſtreſs them to ſuch a degree as to leave them without hopes of recovery. The caſe is very different with regard to the wealthy cultivators of theſe colonies. Whenever they take up arms, they run the riſque of having the labours of their whole lives deſtroyed, their ſlaves carried off, and all the hopes of their poſterity either loſt by fire or plunder; they therefore, always ſubmit to the enemy. Though ſatisfied with the government under which they live, they are leſs attached to its glory than to their own poſterity.

THE example of the firſt coloniſts, whoſe fidelity could not be ſhaken by the moſt vigorous attacks, does not weaken the truth of this obſervation. The object of war was then the acquiſition of territory, and the expulſion of the inhabitants; at preſent, a war waged againſt a colony, is directed only againſt the ſovereign of it.

THE

BOOK I.

THE plan of attacking Martinico was laid by Mr. Pitt; though he was not in the miniſtry when it was ſubdued. The reſignation of this great man drew the attention of Europe, and deſerves to be conſidered by every one, who inveſtigates the cauſes and effects of political revolutions. An hiſtorian, who ventures to write tranſactions of his own age, hath ſeldom, it muſt be granted, ſufficient lights to guide him. The councils of kings are ſo ſecret, that time alone can gradually withdraw the veil that ſurrounds them. Their miniſters, faithful depoſitaries of what they have been intruſted with, or intereſted to conceal it, explain themſelves no further than is ſufficient to miſlead the curious inquirer, who wiſhes to diſcover them. Whatever penetration he may ſhew, in tracing the ſource and connection of events, he is at laſt reduced to conjecture. If his conjectures happen to be juſt, ſtill he is ignorant that they are ſo, or cannot depend upon them; and this uncertainty is ſcarcely more ſatisfactory than a total ignorance. He muſt, therefore, wait till prudence and intereſt, freed from the reſtraint of ſilence, ſhall unfold the truth; till the death of ſome great perſons, by whom he may have been kept in awe, ſhall ſet him at liberty; in a word, till ſome valuable and original records be produced for public inſpection, wherein the latent ſprings on which the deſtiny of nations has hung, ſhall be diſcovered.

THESE reflections ſhould ſuſpend the inquiries of the man who wants only to attend to the progreſs of political intrigues. But we are deſirous of penetrating into the ſoul of one of the greateſt men of his age, and, perhaps, we can never do it with greater propriety. The moſt conſpicuous actions of a man's life only are tranſmitted to poſterity, which will, therefore, be deprived of

of a variety of ſimple and artleſs details, that enlighten the mind of an obſerver, who lived at the time they happened.

Mr. Pitt, after having reſcued England from the diſgrace it had been expoſed to in the beginning of the war, arrived to a height of ſucceſs that aſtoniſhed all the world. Whether he foreſaw this, or not, he did not ſeem to be embarraſſed with it, and reſolved to carry it as far as he could. The moderation that ſo many ſtateſmen had affected before him, ſeemed to him to be only a pretence to conceal their weakneſs or their indolence. He imagined that all ſtates ſhould exert their power to the utmoſt, and that there was no inſtance of one nation being able to become ſuperior to another, and not effecting it. The parallel that he drew between England and France confirmed him in his opinion. He perceived with uneaſineſs that the power England founded upon a trade, which ſhe might and would loſe, was very inconſiderable, when compared with the power of her rival; which nature, art, and particular circumſtances had raiſed to ſuch a degree of ſtrength, under favourable adminiſtrations, as had made all Europe tremble. Senſible of this truth, he, therefore, determined to deprive France of her colonies, and by confining her to the continent, diminiſh her importance, and reduce her to the ſtandard of other nations.

The means neceſſary to complete this project, already ſo far advanced, appeared to him abſolutely certain. Whilſt the imagination of weak minds took ſhadows for realities, the greateſt difficulties appeared trivial to him. Though the nation, of which he was the idol, was ſometimes alarmed at his vaſt and uncommon engagements, he was not in the leaſt diſquieted about them; becauſe, in his eyes, the multitude was like a torrent, whoſe courſe he knew how to direct which way he would.

Per-

BOOK I.

PERFECTLY indifferent with regard to fortune, he was ſtill more ſo with regard to power. His ſucceſſes had made his adminiſtration abſolute. With the people he was a republican, with the nobles and the ſovereign he was a deſpotic miniſter. To think differently from him was a mark of being an enemy to the common cauſe.

HE made uſe of the ſuperiority he had gained with great advantage, in ſtirring up the minds of the people. Little influenced by that ſpecies of philoſophy, which, diveſting itſelf of the prejudices of national glory, to intereſt itſelf in the welfare of all mankind, tries every thing by the principles of univerſal reaſon; he kept up a violent and ſavage ſpirit of enthuſiaſm, which he called, and, perhaps, believed, to be a love of his country; but when traced to the origin, was, in reality, nothing more than a ſtrong averſion from a nation he wanted to oppreſs.

FRANCE was as much diſcouraged by this ſpirit of inveteracy, that conſtantly purſued her, as by the diſtreſſes ſhe had undergone. The diminution, the exhauſted ſtate, or, to ſay the truth, the total ruin of her naval powers, gave her a very bad proſpect for the future. The expectation that a fortunate ſucceſs by land might occaſion a change in the face of affairs, was merely imaginary. If one of their ſquadrons had deſtroyed one or ſeveral of thoſe of her rival, the Engliſh would not have renounced any of their claims. This is a general rule. Whenever any power has acquired a very determined ſuperiority at ſea, it can never loſe it in the courſe of the war; more particularly, if that ſuperiority can be traced from a diſtant cauſe, and eſpecially if it proceeds partly from the character of the nation. The ſuperiority of one continent above another depends entirely on the abilities of a ſingle man, and may be loſt in a moment: on the contrary, ſuperiority at ſea, as it reſults

ſult from the vigilance and intereſt of each individual in the ſtate, muſt always increaſe, particularly, when it is encouraged by its national conſtitution: a ſudden invaſion can alone put a ſtop to it. BOOK I.

NOTHING but a general confederacy could have reſtored the balance of power; the impoſſibility of which Mr. Pitt plainly ſaw. He knew the reſtraints by which Holland was confined, the poverty of Sweden and Denmark, the inexperience of the Ruſſians, and the little regard that ſeveral of theſe powers paid to the intereſts of France. He was conſcious alſo of the terror which the Engliſh forces had ſpread among them all, the miſtruſt they entertained of each other, and the apprehenſion that each of them muſt have, that they ſhould be diſtreſſed before they could receive aſſiſtance.

THE affairs of Spain were particularly circumſtanced. The ravages that laid waſte the French colonies, and which every day increaſed, might eaſily extend to the ſettlements of the Spaniards. Whether this kingdom was not, or would not be ſenſible of the danger that threatened it, its uſual indolence accompanied it with regard to theſe great objects. At length, upon a change of miniſters, a new ſyſtem took place. Don Carlos endeavoured to put a ſtop to this ſcene of confuſion; but it was too late. His overtures were received with a contemptuous haughtineſs Mr. Pitt, having deliberately conſidered the extent of his power, anſwered every propoſition that was made, in the following manner: *I will liſten to them*, ſaid he, *when you have taken the Tower of London ſword in hand.* This mode of expreſſion might diſguſt, but it was impoſing.

SUCH was the ſituation of affairs, when the court of France thought herſelf obliged to make overtures of peace to that of Great-Britain. Both courts were equal-

ly

BOOK I.

ly apprehenſive, and with good reaſon, that Mr. Pitt would oppoſe them. He conſented to enter into a negociation; but the event ſhewed, as ſenſible politicians had conjectured, that his intention was not to continue it. His deſign was only to furniſh himſelf with ſufficient proofs of the engagements that the two branches of the houſe of Bourbon had entered into againſt Great-Britain, and to lay them before his country. As ſoon as he had gained this intelligence, he broke off the negociation, and propoſed declaring war againſt Spain. The ſuperiority of the naval power of England above that of both theſe kingdoms, and the aſſurance he had that it would be infinitely better directed, inſpired him with this confidence.

Mr. Pitt's ſyſtem appeared, to diſtinguiſhed politicians, the only important, and indeed, the only reaſonable ſyſtem. The Engliſh nation had contracted ſuch a load of debt, that it could neither free itſelf from it, nor ſupport it, without opening to itſelf new ſources of opulence. Europe, tired out with the grievances Great-Britain had made her ſubmit to, waited impatiently for an opportunity to diſable her oppreſſor from continuing them. The houſe of Bourbon could not but preſerve a ſtrong reſentment for the injuries it had ſuffered, and for the loſſes it had ſuſtained; it could not but make ſecret preparations, and gradually work up a ſpirit of revenge to which a combination of all its forces might inſure ſucceſs. Theſe motives obliged Great-Britain, though a commercial power, to aggrandize itſelf for its ſupport. This cruel neceſſity was not ſo ſenſibly felt by the council of George the 3d as Mr. Pitt deſired. Moderation appeared to him a work of weakneſs or of infatuation, perhaps, of treachery; and he reſigned his poſt, becauſe he was not allowed to be the declared enemy of Spain.

May

MAY we venture to form a conjecture? The Engliſh miniſtry plainly ſaw that there was no poſſibility of avoiding a war; but equally tired out and diſgraced by the power Mr. Pitt had aſſumed, they were deſirous of reſtoring that ſpirit of equality which is the ſpring of a republican government. Deſpairing of being able to raiſe themſelves upon a level with a man of ſo much diſtinguiſhed merit, or of making him ſtoop to them, they united their endeavours to ruin him. As they found they could not ſucceed by open attacks, they had recourſe to more artful methods. They attempted to ſour his temper; the natural fire of his character laid him open to ſuch a ſnare, and he fell into it. If Mr. Pitt reſigned from caprice, he deſerves to be cenſured for not having ſuppreſſed or maſtered it. If he hoped, by this expedient, to humble his enemies, he ſhewed, that he had a greater knowledge of affairs than men. If, as he aſſerted, he reſigned, becauſe he would no longer be reſponſible for meaſures he did not guide, it may be thought that he was more ſtrongly attached to his own perſonal glory, than to the intereſt of his country. Whatever may have been the cauſe of his reſignation, nothing but the blindeſt, moſt unjuſt, and moſt violent partiality can venture to aſſert, that his virtues and abilities were merely the effect of chance.

BUT however this may be, the firſt ſtep the new miniſtry took was conformable to the principles of Mr. Pitt; and this was a kind of homage they were compelled to pay him. It was thought neceſſary to declare war againſt Spain, and the Weſt Indies were to be the ſcene of theſe new hoſtilities. Experience had already diſcouraged them from making any attempts on the continent of America, and all their views were turned towards Cuba. Men of ſenſe and underſtanding perceived

that

BOOK I.

that the taking of this iſland would not be attended with any apprehenſion of vengeance from the other colonies. By this ſtep the empire of the gulph of Mexico would be ſecured; the enemy, whoſe riches aroſe principally from the duties laid upon goods, would be deprived of all its reſources: the whole commerce of the continent would be ſeized upon, and the inhabitants would chuſe rather to deliver up their riches to the conqueror of their country, than give up thoſe commodities they had been uſed to receive from Europe. Beſides, that the power of Spain would be ſo much reduced by theſe loſſes, that it would be obliged to ſubmit to any terms.

AGREEABLE to this idea, a fleet, conſiſting of nineteen ſhips of the line, eighteen frigates, and about a hundred and fifty tranſports, with 10,000 troops on board, which were to be joined by 4000 more from North-America, ſet ſail for the Havannah. To arrive at this formidable place, it was determined to paſs through the old ſtreight of Bahama, not ſo long in extent, though more dangerous than the new one. The obſtacles that were to be expected in this navigation little known, and too little attended to, were ſucceſsfully ſurmounted, in a manner worthy the reputation that Admiral Pocock had acquired. On the 6th of July, 1762, he arrived at the place where he was deſtined; and the landing of the troops was effected without any oppoſition, at the diſtance of ſix leagues eaſtward of thoſe dreadful fortifications that were to be taken.

THE operations, by land, were not ſo well conducted as thoſe by ſea. If Albemarle, who had the command of the army, had been a man of abilities, equal to the commiſſion he was intruſted with, he would have begun his attack by the city. The ſingle wall that covers it, could not have held out for four and twenty hours. It is probable,

bable, that the generals, the council, and the regency; who muſt infallibly have fallen into his hands, after a ſucceſs that might ſo eaſily have been obtained, would have reſolved to capitulate for the Moro. At all events, he would have thus prevented the fort from receiving any aſſiſtance or proviſions that were ſupplied from the city during the ſiege, and have ſecured the moſt likely means to reduce it in a very ſhort time.

THE plan he purſued of beginning his operations, by the attack of the Moro, expoſed him to great diſtreſſes. The water that was near him was unwholeſome, and he found himſelf under a neceſſity of procuring ſome at three leagues diſtance from his camp. As the ſloops that were ſent for this purpoſe might be attacked, it was thought neceſſary to poſt a body of fifteen hundred men on the eminence of Aroſtigny, at a quarter of a league's diſtance from the town, in order to protect them. This body of troops entirely detached from the army, and which could not be withdrawn or ſupported but by ſea, was perpetually in danger of being cut off.

ALBEMARLE, who might have judged of the diſpoſition of the enemy from their not moleſting the troops poſted at Aroſtigny, ſhould have placed another body of men upon the public road leading to the city. By this ſtep he would have been able almoſt to ſurround it; he would moſt undoubtedly have diſtreſſed it by famine, prevented all removal of effects into the country, and opened a leſs dangerous communication with Aroſtigny, than by the detachments he was conſtantly obliged to ſend, in order to ſupport this advanced body of troops.

THE ſiege of the Moro was carried on without opening the trenches. The ſoldiers advanced towards the ditch, and were covered only with barrels of flints, which were, at length, exchanged for ſacks of cotton, that

BOOK I.

were taken out of ſome merchant ſhips arrived from Jamaica. This want of foreſight occaſioned the loſs of a great number of men, always of great value, but more eſpecially ſo, in a climate, where diſeaſes and fatigues cauſe ſo great a conſumption of them.

THE Engliſh general, having loſt a great part of his army, and finding the neceſſity, for want of troops, of reimbarking in a few days, determined to attempt ſtorming the town; but a large and deep ditch, cut in the rock, was firſt to be paſſed, and no preparations had been made to fill it up.

IF the faults of the Engliſh were very conſiderable, thoſe of the Spaniards were ſtill greater. Though apprized above a month before that war had commenced between the two nations, they were not rouzed from their lethargy. The enemy was already upon their coaſts, and they had made no proviſions of balls of a proper ſize for their cannons, nor of cartridges; neither had they one ſingle gun, or even a firelock fit to make uſe of.

THE great number of officers, of the land and ſea ſervice, who were at the Havannah, occaſioned, during ſome days of the ſiege, a great uncertainty in the reſolutions that could not but be favourable to the beſiegers.

THREE ſhips of war were ſunk; to ſtop up the entrance into the port, which the enemy could not paſs. The road into the harbour was by this means damaged, and three great ſhips loſt, without any reaſon.

THE moſt common prudence would have ſuggeſted that the twelve men of war that were at the Havannah, ſhould have been got ready to ſail. They could not poſſibly be of any ſervice in defending the place, and it was a matter of ſome conſequence to ſave them. But this was neglected. Neither did they think of ſetting them

them on fire, although this was the only way left to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy.

THE deſtruction of the body of Engliſh troops, poſted at Aroſtigny, where they could not receive any aſſiſtance, might have been eaſily effected. This check would have put the beſiegers to ſome difficulty in procuring water, would have deprived them of men, intimidated them, retarded their plan of operations, and inſpired the Spaniſh forces with ſome degree of confidence. But far from making ſo eaſy an attempt, they did not attack, even in the open part of the country, any of the Engliſh detachments, though compoſed entirely of infantry, and which might have been oppoſed by a regiment of dragoons and a great number of militia that were provided with horſes.

THE communication of the city with the internal parts of the country was ſcarcely even interrupted, and yet none of thoſe who had a ſhare in the adminiſtration, ever thought of conveying the treaſure of the king into the inland parts, to prevent its being taken by the enemy.

THE laſt inſtance of neglect ſerved to complete the whole. In the middle of the ditch had been left a piece of a rock, terminating in a point, and ſtanding by itſelf. The Engliſh placed upon this a few tottering planks, which reached from the breach to the counterſcarp. A ſergeant, with fifteen men, paſſed over them at one in the afternoon; and concealed themſelves among ſome ſtones that had fallen down. They were followed by a company of grenadiers, and ſome ſoldiers. When they had collected about a hundred men, in the ſpace of an hour, they got upon the breach, under no apprehenſion of being diſcovered, and found no men placed there to defend it. Valaſco, in-

BOOK I.

deed, informed of what had happened, haſtened to ſave the place; but he was killed in coming up, and his death putting the Spaniſh troops that followed him into confuſion, they ſurrendered to a handful of men. The neglect of placing a centinel to obſerve the motions of the enemy, lodged upon the ditch, occaſioned this event. A few days after, a capitulation was entered into, for the city, for all the places of the colony, and for the whole iſland. Independent of the great importance of this victory in itſelf, the conquerors found in the Havannah about forty-five (1,968,750*l.*) millions of ſilver, and other valuable effects, which fully indemnified them for the expences of the expedition.

Advantages procured to Great Britain in the iſlands by the peace.

THE loſs of Cuba, the center of the power of Spain, in the new world, made peace as neceſſary to the court of Madrid, as it could poſſibly be to that of France, whoſe diſtreſſes were now brought to the higheſt pitch.

THE Engliſh miniſtry, at that time, conſented to a peace; but it ſeemed a matter of much difficulty to ſettle the conditions. The ſucceſſes of Great Britain had been aſtoniſhing in North and South America. But, however ambitious ſhe might be, ſhe could not flatter herſelf with the hopes of retaining all the conqueſts ſhe had made. It was reaſonable to ſuppoſe that ſhe would give up the poſſeſſions ſhe had gained in North America, as the advantages ſhe might expect from them were diſtant, inconſiderable and uncertain; and that ſhe would be content with reſerving to herſelf the ſugar colonies ſhe had lately acquired, which the ſtate of her finances ſeemed more particularly to require. The increaſe of her cuſtoms, that was a neceſſary conſequence of ſuch a ſyſtem, would have procured her the beſt ſinking fund that could be conceived, and which muſt have been ſo much the more agreeable to the

the nation, as it would have been obtained at the expence of the French. This advantage would have been attended with three others very conſiderable. It would, in the firſt place, have deprived a rival power, and formidable notwithſtanding the faults it had committed, of its richeſt branch of trade. Secondly, it would have contributed to weaken this power, from the neceſſity that it would have forced it to of defending Canada; a colony, which, from the nature of its ſituation, muſt be detrimental to a nation that had long neglected its marine. Laſtly, it would have kept New England in a cloſer and more abſolute dependence on the mother country, a part of America that would always want to be ſupported againſt a reſtleſs, active and warlike neighbour.

But though the council of George the 3d ſhould have thought it neceſſary to reſtore to its enemies a bad country of the continent, and to reſerve to itſelf the moſt valuable iſlands, yet they would not, perhaps, have ventured to adopt ſo ſenſible a meaſure. In other countries the faults of the miniſters are imputed only to themſelves, or to their kings, who puniſh them for their miſconduct. In England, the errors of adminiſtration are generally the errors of the nation, who inſiſt upon obedience to their will, though guided by caprice.

The Engliſh, who have complained of the terms of the laſt peace, when they have been ſhewn how far ſhort they fell of the advantages they expected from them, had, however, in ſome meaſure, dictated thoſe very terms themſelves by the tenor of their complaints, either previous to, or during the war. The Canadians had committed ſome outrages and the ſavages many acts of cruelty in the Engliſh colonies. The peaceable inhabitants, terrified at the diſtreſſes they ſuffered, and more ſo at thoſe they feared, had cauſed their cla-

BOOK I.

mours to be heard even in Europe. Their correſpondents, intereſted to obtain them a ſpeedy and powerful redreſs, had aggravated their complaints. Thoſe writers, who eagerly lay hold of every circumſtance, that can render the French nation odious, had loaded it with every ſpecies of invective. The people, exaſperated by the report of the ſhocking ſcenes that were perpetually preſented to its imagination, wiſhed to ſee a ſtop put to theſe barbarities.

On the other hand, the inhabitants of the ſugar colonies, ſatisfied with the carrying on of their own commerce, and gaining a part of that of their enemies, were very quiet. Far from wiſhing the conqueſt of their neighbours ſettlements, they rather dreaded it, conſidering it as deſtructive to themſelves, though advantageous to the nation. The lands of the French are ſo much better than thoſe of the Engliſh, that no competition could poſſibly have taken place. Their allies were of the ſame opinion and followed the example of their moderation.

The conſequence of ſo contrary a plan of conduct was, that the nation was extremely indifferent about the ſugar colonies, but very anxious to acquire what they wanted in North America. The miniſtry, which, in England, can never ſupport its authority againſt the people, or, at leaſt, cannot long maintain itſelf ſucceſsfully againſt its general odium, turned all their views to this object, and found France and Spain readily diſpoſed to adopt ſuch a ſyſtem. The courts of Madrid and France gave up to the Engliſh all their former poſſeſſions, from the river of St. Lawrence to the Miſſiſſippi. Beſides this, France ceded the iſlands of Granada and Tobago, and conſented that the Engliſh ſhould keep the iſlands of St. Vincent and Dominica, provided that, on her part, ſhe might appropriate St. Lucia

St. Lucia to herſelf. On theſe conditions, the conquerors reſtored to the allied powers all the conqueſts they had made in America.

FROM this time England loſt the opportunity, which, perhaps, may never return, of ſeizing the ports and making itſelf maſter of the ſources of all the wealth of the new world. Mexico was in its power, as the Engliſh only were in poſſeſſion of the gulph that opens the way to it. So valuable a continent muſt, therefore, ſoon have become their property. It might have been gained over, either by the offers of an eaſier government, or by the flattering hopes of liberty: The Spaniards might have been induced to ſhake off the yoke of the mother country, which only took up arms to diſtreſs its colonies, and not to protect them; and the Indians might have been tempted to break the chains that enſlaved them to an arbitrary government. The whole face of America might, perhaps, have been entirely changed, and the Engliſh more free and more equitable than other monarchical powers, could not but be benefited by reſcuing the human race from the oppreſſions they ſuffered in the new world, and by removing the injuries this oppreſſion has occaſioned to Europe in particular.

ALL thoſe ſubjects, who are ſacrificed to the ſeverity, oppreſſion and deceit of our governments; all thoſe families that are ruined by the raiſing of ſoldiers, by the ravages of armies, by the loads for carrying on war, and by the infractions of peace; all men born to think and live as men, inſtead of obeying and becoming ſubject like brutes, would have gladly taken refuge in thoſe countries. Theſe, as well as a multitude of workmen, without employment; of huſbandmen without land; of men of ſcience without any occupation; and numbers of diſtreſſed and unfortunate perſons, would have fled

BOOK I.

into theſe regions, which receive only juſt and civilized inhabitants, to render them happy. Above all, the peaſants of the north, ſlaves to the nobility who trample upon them, would certainly have been invited there. Thoſe Ruſſian peaſants, I mean, who are employed as executioners to torture the human race, inſtead of tilling and fertilizing the earth. Numbers of them would certainly have been loſt in theſe tranſmigrations, through extenſive ſeas, into foreign climates; but this would have been an infinitely leſs evil than that of a tyranny, working by ſlow and artful means, and ſacrificing ſo many people to the wills of a ſmall number of men. In a word, the Engliſh would be much more glorioufly employed in ſupporting and favouring ſo happy a revolution, than in tormenting themſelves in defence of a liberty, that excites the envy of all kings, and which they endeavour, by every method, to undermine and deſtroy.

THIS is a wiſh which though founded on juſtice and humanity, is yet, alas! vain in itſelf, as it leaves nothing but fruitleſs concern in the mind of him that formed it. Muſt then the deſires of the virtuous man, for the proſperity of the world, be for ever loſt, whilſt thoſe of the ambitious and extravagant are ſo often favoured and ſucceſsful?

SINCE war has been the cauſe of ſo much evil, why does it not run through every ſpecies of calamity that it may, at length, tend to procure ſome good. But what has been the conſequence of the laſt war, one of thoſe that has been the moſt diſtreſsful to the human race? It has occaſioned ravages in the four quarters of the globe; and has coſt Europe alone above a million of its inhabitants. Thoſe who were not its victims, are now oppreſſed by it, and their poſterity will long groan under the weight of the enormous taxes it has given riſe to.

The

The nation, whom victory attended in all parts, ſtill feels the wounds by which its triumphs were obtained. Its public debt, which, at the beginning of the war, did not exceed 1,617,087,060 livres, (70,747,558*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*) aroſe, at the concluſion of the peace, to 3,330,000,000 livres, (145,687,500*l.*) for which it muſt pay an intereſt of 111,577,490 livres. (4,881,515*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.*)

But let us now take our leave of war. Let us conſider by what means the nations, who have divided the great Archipelago of America, that has been the origin of ſo many quarrels and negociations, and has given riſe to ſo many reflections, have been able to raiſe it to a pitch of opulence, that may, without exaggeration, be conſidered as the firſt cauſe of all the great events that at preſent diſturb the peace of the globe.

End of the First Book.

BOOK

BOOK II

The Europeans go into Africa to purchaſe ſlaves to cultivate the Caribbees. The manner of conducting this ſpecies of commerce. Produce accruing from the labour of the ſlaves.

BOOK II.

CERTAIN reſtleſs fugitives, the greateſt part of whom had either been diſgraced by the laws of their country, or ruined by their own debaucheries; in this ſtate of deſperation, formed a deſign of attacking Spaniſh or Portugueſe ſhips that were richly laden with the ſpoils of the new world. Some deſert iſlands, whoſe ſituation inſured ſucceſs to theſe piracies, ſerved at firſt for a place of rendezvous to theſe robbers, and ſoon became their country. Habituated to murder, they meditated the maſſacre of a plain and unſuſpecting people, who had received and treated them with humanity; and the civilized nations, of which theſe Buccaneers were the refuſe, adopted this execrable ſcheme without heſitation; which was immediately put in execution. It then became neceſſary to conſider what advantages might accrue from ſo many enormities. Gold and ſilver, which were ſtill looked upon as the ſole valuable productions to be derived from America, had either never exiſted

exiſted in ſeveral of theſe new acquiſitions, or not in ſufficient quantities to expect any conſiderable emoluments from working the mines. Certain ſpeculative men, leſs blinded by their prejudices than the multitude generally are, imagined, that a ſoil and climate, ſo totally different from ours, might either furniſh us with commodities, to which we were ſtrangers, or which we were obliged to purchaſe at an exorbitant price: they, therefore, determined to apply themſelves to the culture of them. There were ſome obſtacles, apparently inſurmountable to the execution of this plan. The ancient inhabitants of the country were now entirely deſtroyed, and had they not been ſo, the weakneſs of their conſtitutions, their habits of eaſe and indolence, and invincible averſion from labour, would ſcarcely have rendered them fit inſtruments to execute the deſigns of their oppreſſors. Theſe barbarians too, born in a temperate clime, could not ſupport the irkſome toils of agriculture, under a burning and unwholeſome ſky. Self-intereſt, ever fruitful in expedients, deviſed the plan of ſeeking cultivators in Africa, a country in which the abominable and inhuman cuſtom of ſelling its inhabitants hath ever prevailed.

The Europeans go into Africa, in ſearch of cultivators.

AFRICA is an immenſe region, connected to Aſia by a narrow neck of land of twenty leagues, called the iſthmus of Suez. This natural and political boundary to the ocean, muſt ſooner or later break down, by that tendency it is obſerved to have of forming gulphs and ſtraits eaſtward. This great peninſula, cut by the equator into two equal parts, forms an irregular triangle, one of whoſe ſides fronts the eaſt, the other the north, and the third the weſt.

Opinions concerning the eaſtern coaſt of Africa.

THE eaſtern ſide, which extends to Suez, as far as the Cape of Good Hope, is waſhed by the Red Sea and the ocean. The interior parts of the country are but little known,

BOOK I.

known, and what is known, can neither excite the mercenary views of the trader, the curioſity of the traveller, nor the humanity of the philoſopher. Even the miſſionaries, after having made ſome progreſs in theſe countries, eſpecially in Abyſſinia, totally diſcouraged by the treatment they met with, have abandoned this people to their inconſtancy and perfidy. The coaſts are in general only dreadful rocks, or a waſte of dry and burning ſand. Thoſe portions, which are fit for cultivation, are parcelled out among the natives of the country, the Arabs, the Portugueſe and the Dutch. Their commerce, which conſiſts only in a little ivory or gold, and ſome ſlaves, is connected with the trade of the Eaſt-Indies.

Opinions concerning the northern coaſt of Africa.

THE northern ſide, which extends from the iſthmus of Suez to the ſtraits of Gibraltar, is bounded by the Mediterranean. On this ſide, nine hundred leagues of coaſt are occupied by Egypt, and by the country, which has for ſeveral centuries been known by the name of Barbary.

EGYPT, which was the nurſery of arts and ſciences, of commerce and government, offers nothing that can recall to our remembrance the idea of its former greatneſs. Bending under the yoke of deſpotiſm, which the ignorance and ſuperſtition of the Turks have impoſed on her, the only intercourſe ſhe ſeems to have with foreign nations, by the ports of Damietta and of Alexandria, ſerves only to render them witneſſes of her total declenſion and ruin.

THE fate of ancient Lybia, now Barbary, is no leſs wonderful. The early periods of this extenſive country are involved in the greateſt obſcurity. The cloud began to be diſpelled at the arrival of the Carthaginians. Theſe merchants, originally of Phœnician extraction, about an hundred and thirty-ſeven years before the foundation of Rome, built a city, whoſe territory, at firſt, very limited,

ed, in proceſs of time, extended to all that country, known by the name of the kingdom of Tunis, and afterwards much further. Spain, and the greateſt part of the iſlands in the Mediterranean, fell under its dominion. Many other kingdoms muſt manifeſtly have ſerved to aggrandize this enormous power, when her ambitious views interfered with thoſe of Rome. At the time of this dreadful colliſion, a war between theſe two nations was inſtantly kindled, ſo obſtinate and violent, that it was eaſy to foreſee it would not terminate, but in the utter deſtruction of the one or the other. That ſtate, which was now in the height of its republican and patriotic principles, after the moſt ſkillful and the moſt ſtubborn engagements, obtained a deciſive ſuperiority over that which was corrupted by its riches. The commercial people became the ſlaves of the warlike power.

The conquerors maintained themſelves in the poſſeſſion of their conqueſts, till about the middle of the fifth century. The Vandals, then hurried on by their original impetuoſity beyond the limits of Spain, of which they were maſters, paſſed the pillars of Hercules, and, like an inundation, diffuſed themſelves over the country of Lybia. Theſe barbarians would certainly have preſerved the advantages they had acquired by their irruptions, if they had kept up that military ſpirit which their king, Genſeric, had inſpired them with. But with this barbarian, who was not deſtitute of genius, this ſpirit became extinct; military diſcipline was relaxed, and the government which reſted only on this baſis, was overthrown. Beliſarius ſurprized theſe people in this confuſion, extirpated them, and re-eſtabliſhed the empire in its ancient privileges. But this revolution was only momentary. Great men, who can form and bring to maturity a riſing nation, cannot impart youth and vigour to ancient and decayed people.

In

BOOK II.

In the ſeventh century, the Saracens, formidable by their inſtitutions and their ſucceſs, armed with the ſword and with the koran, obliged the Romans, weakened by their diviſions, to repaſs the ſeas, and augmented that vaſt dominion Mohammed had juſt founded with ſo much glory, with the acceſſion of the northern part of Africa. The Caliphs lieutenants afterwards ſtripped their maſters of the rich ſpoils, and erected the provinces, committed to their care, into independent ſtates.

Such was the ſtate of affairs at the beginning of the ſixteenth century, when the Mohammedans of Algiers, who were afraid of falling under the yoke of Spain, invited the Turks to their aſſiſtance. The Porte ſent Barbaroſſa, who at firſt protected, but in the end enſlaved them. The Baſſas who ſucceeded him, and were the governors of Tunis and Tripoli, both conquered and oppreſſed cities, exerciſed a tyranny, which very fortunately was carried to ſuch an height, that from its exceſs it muſt neceſſarily terminate in its own deſtruction; and the ſame violent meaſures that ſupported it, were exerted in delivering the people from it. One circumſtance, however, is worthy of obſervation, that the three ſtates adopted the ſame kind of government, which is a ſpecies of ariſtocracy. The chief, who under the title of Dey, governs the republic, is elected by the ſoldiery, which is always Turkiſh, and conſtitutes the only nobility of the country. Theſe elections are ſeldom made by the ſoldiery without bloodſhed, and it is a common thing for a man, who has been elected in the midſt of riot and ſlaughter, to be afterwards aſſaſſinated by a reſtleſs faction, who deſign either to ſecure that diſtinction for themſelves, or to ſell it for their advancement. The empire of Morocco, which has ſucceſſively ſwallowed up the kingdoms of Fez, of Tafilet, and of Sus, becauſe it is hereditary in a national

al family, is, however, ſubjected to the ſame revolutions. The enormities of the princes and the people are the primary cauſe of this inſtability.

THE interior parts of Barbary are full of Arabs, who are what men in the primitive ages muſt have been, ſhepherds in a wandering and unſettled ſtate. Cuſtoms, which are diſguſtful to our effeminate manners, are conſidered by them either as great or ſimple, reſulting from the dictates of nature. When the moſt illuſtrious among the Arabians intended to receive a ſtranger with marks of diſtinction, they go themſelves in ſearch of the choiceſt lamb of their flocks, ſlay it with their own hands, and like the patriarchs of Moſes, or the heroes of Homer, cut it in pieces, whilſt their wives are occupied in the other preparations of the feſtival. The children of the moſt diſtinguiſhed men among them, even of Scheiks and Emirs, tend the family flocks. The boys and girls have no other employment during their tender years.

THESE are not the happy manners of thoſe who live in towns or inhabit the ſea-ſhore. Equally averſe from the toils of agriculture and from the more ſedentary arts, they are become pirates. At firſt, they contented themſelves with ravaging the vaſt and fertile plains of Spain. They ſurpriſed in their beds the indolent inhabitants of the rich countries of Valencia, Granada and Andaluſia, and carried them off for ſlaves. Afterwards diſdaining the booty they acquired from countries, they had formerly cultivated, they built large veſſels, and inſulted the flag of all nations. Theſe naval equipments, which were gradually improved into little ſquadrons, received an annual acceſſion, by means of the avarice of great numbers of chriſtians, who furniſhed the people of Barbary with materials for their armaments, who intereſted themſelves in their cruiſes, and who ſometimes even ventured to direct their operations. Theſe pirates reduced the

BOOK II.

the greateſt powers of Europe to the diſgrace of making them annual preſents, which, under whatever name they are diſguiſed, are in reality a tribute. They have ſometimes been puniſhed and humbled; but their robberies have never been totally ſuppreſſed. Charles the 5th, who, tho' he was always buſy in exciting commotions during the age in which he lived, yet would ſometimes penetrate into futurity by that foreſight which atones, in ſome degree, for the faults of a turbulent ſpirit, ſaw what the people of Barbary might one day become. Diſdaining to enter into any kind of treaty with them, he formed the generous plan of deſtroying them. The rivalry of Francis the 1ſt made his project miſcarry; and ſince his time hiſtory has it not in her power to celebrate any prince for reſuming the idea of ſo glorious an enterprize, the execution of which would be attended with no great difficulty.

THE inhabitants of Barbary groan under a yoke of which they are impatient. The tyrant of Morocco inſolently ſports with the liberties and lives of his ſubjects. This deſpotic ſovereign, an executioner in the ſtricteſt ſenſe of the word, every day expoſes on the walls of his palace, or his capital, the heads of the innocent or the guilty whom he has ſlaughtered with his own hand. Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, though exempt from a like ferocity, are, however, under a ſevere ſubjection. Slaves to fifteen or twenty thouſand Turks, who have been choſen out from among the dregs of the Ottoman empire, they become in a hundred different ways the victims of this brutal ſoldiery. An authority reſting on ſo tottering a baſis, cannot poſſibly be firmly eſtabliſhed, and might be eaſily ſubverted.

No foreign ſuccour would retard its fall for a moment. The only power that might be ſuſpected of wiſhing its preſervation,

preſervation, namely the Ottoman empire, is not ſo highly gratified with the vain title of protector, which they confer on it, as to intereſt itſelf warmly in their ſafety. All endeavours to excite them to interfere, by ſubmiſſions, which particular circumſtances might, probably, extort from theſe robbers, would certainly be ineffectual. The wiſhes of the Porte would not impart ſtrength. For theſe two centuries paſt, the Porte have no navy, and their military power is continually decaying.

But to what nation is the glory reſerved of breaking thoſe fetters which Africa is thus inſenſibly preparing for us, and of removing theſe terrors, which are ſo formidable to navigation? No one nation alone can attempt it; perhaps, if it did, the jealouſy of the reſt would throw ſecret obſtacles in its way. This muſt, therefore, be the work of a general combination. All the maritime powers muſt concur in the execution of a deſign, in which all are equally intereſted. Theſe ſtates, which every thing invites to mutual alliance, to mutual good-will, to mutual defence, ought to be weary of the calamities which they reciprocally bring upon each other. After having ſo frequently waited for their mutual deſtruction, let them at length take up arms for their preſervation. War for once at leaſt, will then become uſeful and juſt.

One may venture to aſſert, that ſuch a war would be of no long continuance, if it were conducted with ſkill and unanimity. Each member of the confederacy, attacking at the ſame time the enemy it had to reduce, would experience but a weak reſiſtance, or, perhaps, none. The people of Barbary, being thus ſuddenly deprived of all power of defending themſelves, would undoubtedly abandon their governors, and relinquiſh the government by which they have been conſtantly oppreſſed. Perhaps this nobleſt and greateſt of enterprizes

BOOK II.

would coſt Europe leſs blood and treaſure, than the moſt trivial of thoſe quarrels with which it is continually agitated.

No one would be ſo unjuſt as to ſuppoſe, that the politicians, who ſhould form this plan, would confine their ambition to the filling up of roads, demoliſhing of forts, and ravaging of coaſts. Such narrow notions would be inconſiſtent with the preſent improvements of reaſon. The countries ſubdued, would remain to the conquerors, and each of the allies would acquire poſſeſſions, proportionate to the aſſiſtance they had given to the common cauſe. Theſe conqueſts would become ſo much the more ſecure, as the happineſs of the vanquiſhed would be the conſequence of them. This race of pirates, theſe ſea monſters, would be changed into men by ſalutary laws, and examples of humanity. The progreſs they would gradually make, by the knowledge we ſhould impart to them, would in time diſpel that fanaticiſm which ignorance and miſery have kept up in their minds. They would ever recollect with gratitude the memorable æra which had brought us to their ſhores.

We ſhould then no longer ſee a country uncultivated, which was formerly ſo fertile. Corn and various fruits would ſoon cover this immenſe tract of land. Their commodities would be bartered for the productions of our induſtry and of our manufactures. European traders ſettled in Africa, would become the factors of this trade, which would prove of mutual advantage to both countries. A communication ſo natural, between oppoſite coaſts, and between people who have a neceſſary intercourſe with each other, would, as it were, extend the boundaries of the world. This new kind of conqueſt, which readily occurs to the mind, would amply compenſate for thoſe, which during ſo many centuries, have contributed to the diſtreſs of mankind.

THE

BOOK II.

THE jealouſy of the great maritime powers, who have obſtinately rejected all expedients to re-eſtabliſh tranquillity on our ſeas, hath been the chief impediment to ſo important a revolution. The hope of checking the induſtry of every weak ſtate, hath accuſtomed them to wiſh, that theſe piracies of the people of Barbary ſhould continue, and hath even induced them to encourage theſe plunders. This is an enormity, the ignominy of which they would never have incurred, if their underſtanding had equalled their mercenary views. All nations would certainly profit from this happy change; but the greateſt advantages would infallibly redound to the maritime ſtates, in proportion to their power. Their ſituation, the ſafety of their navigation, the greatneſs of their capital, and a hundred other means, would ſecure them this ſuperiority. They are conſtantly complaining of the ſhackles which national envy, the folly of reſtraints and prohibitions, and the confined idea of excluſive traffic have impoſed upon their activity. The people gradually become as much ſtrangers to one another as they were in the barbarous ages. The void, which this want of communication neceſſarily occaſions, would be filled up; if Africa were brought to have wants, and reſources to ſatisfy them. The ſpirit of commerce would have a new career opened to its exertion.

HOWEVER, if the reduction and ſubjection of Barbary would not become a ſource of happineſs for them as well as for ourſelves; if we are reſolved not to treat them as brethren; if we wiſh not to conſider them as our friends; if we muſt keep up and perpetuate ſlavery and poverty amongſt them; if fanaticiſm can ſtill renew thoſe deteſtable cruſades, which philoſophy too late hath conſigned to the indignation of all ages; if Africa muſt at laſt become the ſcene of our cruelties, as Aſia

BOOK II.

and America have been, and ſtill are; may the project which humanity hath now dictated to us, for the good of our fellow-creatures, be buried in perpetual oblivion! Let us remain in our ports. It is indifferent, whether they be Chriſtians or Muſſulmen who ſuffer. Man is the only object worthy to intereſt man.

Do we hope to accuſtom the Africans to commerce, by the ſlow and gentle expedients of treaties, which muſt often be renewed, and purchaſed as often? To be aſſured of the contrary, it is only neceſſary to take a tranſient view of the preſent ſtate of the Europeans with regard to theſe people.

The French have never trafficked with Morocco. They have always been in a ſtate of war with it. The Engliſh, Dutch, and Swedes, diſguſted by the repeated inſults they have received, never appear there but occaſionally. The whole commerce is almoſt entirely in the hands of Denmark, which hath committed it to a company, formed upon a capital of five hundred ſhares of five hundred crowns each. (65*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*) Its eſtabliſhment was in 1755, and it is to continue forty years. It imports Engliſh cloth, ſilver tiſſues, and ſilks; ſome linens, iron, tar, and ſulphur; and brings in exchange, copper, gums, wool, wax, and leather. Theſe exchanges are made at Sally, Tetuan, Mongador, Safia, and Santa-Cruz. One may judge of the extent of this commerce by the profits of the cuſtom houſes, which are let for 255,000 livres. (11,156*l.* 5*s.*)

The trade of Algiers is not ſo conſiderable. The Engliſh, French, and Jews of Leghorn, are rivals in it. The two firſt ſend in their own veſſels, and the laſt under a neutral flag, cloth, ſpice, paper, hardware, coffee, ſugar, linens, alum, indigo, cochineal; and receive in exchange, wool, wax, feathers, leather, oil, and ſeveral goods

goods arising from captures. The returns, though a fourth more than the out-goings, do not annually exceed a million of livres. (43,750*l.*) France has one half, and her rivals nearly divide the reſt.

INDEPENDENT of this commerce, which is totally carried on by the metropolis, there is ſome buſineſs done at Callua, Bona, and Collou, three other ports of the republic. This trade would have been extended and improved, if it had not been ſubjected to a monopoly and to a foreign one. Ancient treaties, which have been pretty commonly obſerved, have yielded this vaſt coaſt to an excluſive company eſtabliſhed at Marſeilles. Its capital is twelve hundred thouſand livres, (52,500*l.*) and its annual traffic in merchandize, which may amount to eight or nine hundred thouſand, (about 37,000*l.* on an average.) employs thirty or forty ſhips. It purchaſes corn, wool, coal, and leather, with ſpecie.

TUNIS may receive two millions (87,500*l.*) in foreign merchandize, and ſell its own for two millions five hundred thouſand livres. (109,375*l.*) The French, in conducting this traffic, two thirds of the profit, the Tuſcans the reſt. This commerce is ſupported and carried on nearly in the ſame manner as every traffic in other ſtates of Barbary.

THE trade that is carried on in Tripoli is very conſiderable. The country is ſo wretched, that nothing can be imported thither but ſome hardware of little value. The exports of wool, ſenna, aſhes, wax, and pulſe, are ſcarce worth notice. But though this coaſt is ſo little advantageous to commerce, by the ſupplies it can furniſh; and though it is ſo prejudicial to it by the piracies that are exerciſed there, the weſtern coaſt of Africa fully compenſates theſe loſſes by the benefits it procures to the American colonies.

Climate of the weſtern coaſt of Africa,

THE coaſt of this immenſe country extends from the ſtraits of Gibraltar to the Cape of Good Hope. All its inhabitants

known by the name of the coaſt of Guinea.

BOOK II.

inhabitants are black. The cauſe of this ſingularity has been the ſubject of much inquiry, which hath given riſe to a variety of ſyſtems. Some have abſurdly ſuppoſed, that the negroes being the deſcendents of Cain, have had this mark of infamy ſtamped upon them, as a puniſhment for the fratricide of their anceſtor. If it were ſo, it muſt be allowed, that his poſterity have made a ſevere atonement for his crime; and that the deſcendents of the pacific Abel, have thoroughly avenged the blood of their innocent father.

But waving the diſcuſſion of ſuch ridiculous fancies, let us inquire whether it is poſſible that the negroes ſhould derive their colour from the climate they inhabit? Some philoſophers and eminent naturaliſts are of this opinion. There are no negroes, ſay they, but in the hotteſt countries. Their colour becomes darker the nearer they approach to the equator. It becomes lighter or more bright at the very verge of the torrid zone. The whole human ſpecies in general contract whiteneſs from the ſnow, and grow tanned in the ſun. One ſees various ſhades from white to black, and from black to white, marked out as it were by the parallel degrees which cut the earth from the equator to the poles. If the zones, imagined by the inventors of the ſphere, were repreſented by real bands, one might perceive the jetty colour of the natives inſenſibly decreaſe to the right and left as far as the two tropics; from thence the brown colour of the inhabitants grow paler and brighter to the polar circles, by ſhades of white, becoming more and more brilliant. But it is ſomewhat remarkable, that nature, which hath laviſhed the brightneſs of the moſt beautiful colours on the ſkin and plumage of animals, and on vegetables and metals, ſhould, properly ſpeaking, have left men without colour, ſince black and white are nothing but the beginning and abſence of all colours.

What-

WHATEVER be the original and radical cauſe of that variety of complexion in the human ſpecies, it is agreed, that this complexion is owing to a gelatinous ſubſtance that is lodged between the cuticle and the ſkin. This ſubſtance is blackiſh in negroes, brown in olive coloured or ſwarthy people, white in Europeans, and diverſified with reddiſh ſpots in people who have extremely light red hair.

ANATOMY hath diſcovered, that in negroes the ſubſtance of the brain is blackiſh, that the pineal gland is entirely black, and that their blood is of a much deeper red than that of white people. Their ſkin is always hotter, and their pulſe quicker. The paſſions, therefore, of fear and love, are carried to exceſs among theſe people; and this is the reaſon why they are more effeminate, more indolent, more weak, and unhappily more fit for ſlavery. Beſides, their intellectual faculties being nearly exhauſted, by the exceſſes of of ſenſual pleaſures, they have neither memory nor underſtanding to ſupply by art the deficiency of their ſtrength. Their hair, it is ſaid, is curled, becauſe having to penetrate through a net-work of a more denſe and tenacious ſubſtance, it becomes twiſted and cannot be lengthened out. The ſweat of the negroes diffuſes a ſtrong and diſagreeable odour, becauſe it is impregnated with that thick and rancid greaſe which hath been long lodged, and ſlowly oozes out between the cuticle and the ſkin. This ſubſtance is ſo palpable, that one may diſtinguiſh in it with a microſcope a ſediment formed in little blackiſh globules. Hence the perſpiration of a negroe, when it is copious, tinges the linen cloth which wipes it off. One of the inconveniencies of this black colour, an emblem of the night which confounds all objects, is, that the negroes have been obliged, in order to be known at a diſtance, to flaſh themſelves,

BOOK II.

ſelves, and mark their ſkin with different colours. This cuſtom is general, eſpecially among the wandering tribes of this people. As we find, it however, eſtabliſhed among the ſavages of Tartary and Canada, it may be doubtful whether the the practice does not rather ariſe from their roving way of life, than from the colour of their complexion.

ANATOMY hath gone further, and diſcovered the origin of the blackneſs of negroes in the ſource of generation. Nothing more it ſhould ſeem would be neceſſary in order to prove, that negroes are a particular ſpecies of men. For if any thing diſcriminates the ſpecies, or the claſſes in each ſpecies, it is certainly the difference of the ſemen. The colour of the negroes, is, therefore, falſely ſuppoſed to be owing to the climate, ſince in Africa, under the ſame parallels, the eaſtern coaſt has no negroes, and even produces white people, and notwithſtanding the heat and ſoil of it, no negroes have ever been born in that country.

THOUGH it ſhould be allowed, that the weſtern coaſt of Africa is the hotteſt region of the whole globe, the only inference to be deduced from this, would be, that there are climates proper only to certain ſpecies, or certain ſpecies adapted to particular climates; but not that the difference of climates could change the ſame ſpecies from white to black. The ſun has not the power of altering and modifying the germina of reproduction. White people never become black in Africa, nor negroes white in America. An union indeed between the ſexes of theſe two ſpecies, produces the meſtees, who partake equally of the colour, features, and complexion of both. If man was originally white, it muſt be ſuppoſed, that having been created nearer to the frigid than to the torrid zone, he peopled the earth ſucceſſively from the poles to the equator; whilſt, on the

contrary,

contrary, the fertility of the globes between the tropics, is a preſumption, that is has been peopled from the equator to the poles.

THE climate inhabited by the negroes, exhibits no variations but ſuch as may be occaſioned by ſands or moraſſes. The almoſt inſupportable heat of their days, is ſucceeded by very cool and refreſhing nights, with this difference only, that they are leſs ſo in the rainy ſeaſons than in the times of drought. The dew, leſs profuſe under a cloudy ſky than under a ſerene horizon is undoubtedly the cauſe of this ſingularity.

Soil of Guinea.

FROM the frontiers of the empire of Morocco, as far as Senegal, the land is totally barren. Some Arabs, the deſcendents of thoſe who conquered Barbary, and ſome Moors, the ancient inhabitants of the country lead a miſerable wandering life amidſt thoſe burning and dry ſands, which at length, are loſt in the vaſt ſolitudes of Sahara.

THE banks of the Niger, Gambia, and Sierra Leona, and thoſe of ſome leſs conſiderable rivers, which are in that long ſpace that intervenes between theſe principal rivers, exhibit proofs of the greateſt fertility. Maize grows there without much cultivation, as well as all the fruits that are natural to America; and the care of flocks conſtitutes almoſt the ſole employment of the inhabitants. They prefer mare's milk, which is their principal nouriſhment, and travel but little; becauſe they have no wants to induce them to leave their country.

THE inhabitants of Cape Monte, environed on every ſide by ſands, form a nation entirely ſeparated from the reſt of Africa. In the rice of their marſhes conſiſts all their nouriſhment and their ſole riches. Of this they ſell a ſmall quantity to the Europeans, for which they receive in exchange brandy and hard-ware.

FROM

BOOK II.

FROM the Cape of Palmas to the river of Volta, the inhabitants are traders and huſbandmen. They are huſbandmen, becauſe their land, though ſtony, abundantly requites the neceſſary labour and expence of clearing it. They are traders, becauſe they have behind them nations which furniſh them with gold, copper, ivory, ſlaves, and becauſe nothing obſtructs a continued communication between the people of the country and thoſe of the coaſt. It is the ſole country in Africa, where, in a long ſpace, there are no deſarts or deep rivers, to obſtruct the traveller, and where water and the means of ſubſiſtence may be found.

BETWEEN the river of Volta and the river of Calbary, the coaſt is flat, fertile, populous and cultivated. This is not the condition of the country which extends from Calbary to Gabon. Almoſt totally covered with thick foreſts, producing little fruit and no corn, it may be ſaid to be rather inhabited by wild beaſts than by men. Though the rains are there very frequent and copious, as they muſt be under the Equator, the land is ſo ſandy, that immediately after the ſhowers are fallen, there remains not the leaſt appearance of moiſture.

TO the ſouth of the Line, and as far as Zaire, the coaſt preſents an agreeable proſpect. Low at its beginning, it gradually riſes, and exhibits a ſcene of cultivated fields, intermixed with woods, always verdant, and of meadows covered with palm-trees.

FROM Zaire to Coanza, and ſtill farther, the coaſt is in general high and craggy. In the interior parts of this country is an elevated plain, the ſoil of which is compoſed of a large, thick and fertile ſand.

A LITTLE beyond Coanza, a barren region intervenes, of above two hundred leagues extent, which is terminated by the country of the Hottentots. In this long

long ſpace, there are no inhabitants known, except the Cimbebes, with whom no intercourſe is kept up.

THE varieties obſervable on the ſhores of the weſt of Africa, do not prevent them from enjoying a very rare, and, perhaps, a ſingular advantage. On this immenſe coaſt, thoſe tremendous rocks are no where ſeen, which are ſo alarming to the navigator. The ſea is univerſally calm, the wind regular and the anchorage ſecure. Several excellent havens are here to be met with, where the mariner unmoleſted may purſue the labours which the refitting of large ſhips require.

THE winds and currents, during ſix months of the year, from April to November, have nearly the ſame direction. To the ſouth of the line, the ſouth-eaſt wind predominates, and the direction of the currents is towards the north-eaſt. During the ſix other months, ſtorms, by intervals, change the direction of the wind, but it no longer blows with the ſame violence: the ſpring of the air ſeems to be relaxed. The cauſe of this change appears to influence the direction of the currents: to the north of the line, they tend to the ſouth-weſt, beyond the line to the ſouth.

Government, policy, wars, religion, and manners of the coaſt of Guinea.

VAGUE conjectures can only be formed with regard to every thing which reſpects the interior parts of Africa; but it is a fact, well authenticated, that throughout the whole extent of the coaſt the government is arbitrary. Whether the deſpotic ſovereign aſcends the throne by right of birth, or by election, the people have no other law but his will.

BUT what will ſeem extraordinary to the inhabitants of Europe, where the great number of hereditary monarchies obſtructs the tranquillity of elective governments, and the proſperity of all free ſtates, is, that, in Africa, the countries which are the leaſt liable to revolutions,

BOOK II.

lutions, are thoſe, which have preſerved the right of electing their chiefs. This is uſually an old man, whoſe wiſdom is generally known. The manner, in which this choice is made, is very ſimple; but it is only ſuited to very ſmall ſtates. In three days the people, by mutual conſent, meet at the houſe of that citizen who appears to them the moſt proper perſon to be their ſovereign. If the ſuffrages are divided, he who has obtained the greateſt number of them, names on the fourth day one of thoſe who have had fewer voices than himſelf. Every freeman hath a right to vote. There are even ſome tribes where the women enjoy this privilege.

SUCH is, excepting the hereditary kingdoms of Benin and Juda, the formation of that little groupe of ſtates which are to the north of the Line. To the ſouth we meet with Mayumba and Cilongo, where chiefs are admitted among the miniſters of religion; and with the empires of Loango and Congo, where the crown is perpetual in the male line, by the female ſide, that is, the eldeſt ſon of the king's eldeſt ſiſter inherits the throne, when it becomes vacant. Theſe people believe that a child is much more certainly the ſon of his mother, than of the man whom ſhe marries: they truſt rather to the time of delivery which they ſee, than to that of conception, of which they are not witneſſes.

THESE nations live in a total ignorance of that art ſo revered among us, under the name of politics. They do not, however, neglect to obſerve ſome of its formalities and decorum. The cuſtom of ſending embaſſies is familiar to them, whether to ſolicit aid againſt a powerful enemy, or to requeſt a mediator in their differences, or to congratulate others upon their ſucceſſes, upon a birth, or a ſhower after a great drought. The envoy muſt never ſtay longer than a day at the place of his miſſion; nor

nor travel during the night in the ſtates of a foreign prince. He is preceded by a drum, which announces from afar his character, and he is accompanied by five or ſix friends. In thoſe places, where he ſtops to refreſh himſelf, he is received with reſpect; but he cannot depart before the ſun riſes, and without the ceremony of his hoſt aſſembling ſome perſons to witneſs that no accident hath happened to him. In other reſpects, they are ſtrangers to any negociations that are in the leaſt complicated. They never enter into any ſtipulations for the paſt, nor for the future; but confine themſelves wholly to the preſent. Hence we may conclude, that theſe nations cannot have regular or ſettled connections with the other parts of the globe.

Their ſyſtem of war is as little complicated as their politics. Neither of the governments retain troops in pay. Every free man is by condition a ſoldier. All take up arms to guard their frontiers, or to make excurſions in queſt of booty. The officers are choſen by the ſoldiers, and the choice is confirmed by the prince. The army marches, and moſt frequently the hoſtilities, which are begun in the morning, are terminated in the evening. At leaſt, the incurſion never continues for any length of time; for as they have no magazines, the want of ſubſiſtance obliges them to retire. It would prove a great misfortune to theſe people, if they were acquainted with the art of keeping the field fifteen days together.

The deſire of extending their territories is not the cauſe of the diſturbances which frequently throw theſe countries into confuſion. An inſult commited in a ceremony, a clandeſtine or violent robbery, the rape of a daughter; theſe are the ordinary occaſions of a war. The day after the battle, each ſide redeems their reſpective priſoners. They are exchanged for merchandiſe, or for

BOOK II.

for ſlaves. No portion of the territory is ever ceded, the whole entirely belongs to the community, whoſe chief fixes the extent which every perſon is to cultivate, in order to reap the fruits of it.

THE manner of terminating differences is not merely that of little ſtates, whoſe chiefs are too wiſe to aſpire after enlarging their dominions, and too much advanced in years not to be fond of peace. Great empires are obliged to conform to theſe principles with neighbours much weaker than themſelves. The ſovereign has never any ſtanding militia, and though he diſpoſes at pleaſure of the lives of the governors of his provinces, he preſcribes them no rules of adminiſtration. Theſe are petty princes who for fear of being ſuſpected of ambition and puniſhed with death, live in concord with the elective colonies which ſurround them. Unanimity between the more conſiderable powers and the leſſer ſtates, is preſerved as much by the immenſe authority the prince hath over his ſubjects, as by the impoſſibility there is of his exerting it as he pleaſes. He can ſtrike but one blow at once. He may, indeed, give orders that his lieutenant ſhould be aſſaſſinated, and the whole province will ſtrangle him at his command; but were he to order all the inhabitants of a province to be put to death, no one would obey him; and his will would not ſuffice to arm another province againſt that. His power againſt individuals is unlimited; but he can do very little againſt the whole collective body.

ANOTHER reaſon which prevents ſmall ſtates from being enſlaved by great ones, is, that theſe people annex no idea to the glory of conqueſts. The only perſon, who appears to have been animated with it, was a ſlave-broker, who, from his infancy, had frequented the European veſſels, and who, in his riper years, had made a voyage

a voyage to Portugal. Every thing he ſaw and heard, fired his imagination and taught him that a great name was frequently acquired by being the cauſe of great calamities. At his return into his country, he felt himſelf greatly humiliated at being obliged to obey people leſs enlightened than himſelf. His intrigues raiſed him to the dignity of chief of the Acanis, and he prevailed on them to take up arms againſt their neighbours. Nothing could oppoſe his valour, and his dominion extended o ver more than an hundred leagues of coaſt, of which Anambou was the center. At his death no body dared to ſucceed him: and all the ſupports of his authority ceaſing at once, every thing reſumed its former ſituation.

THE chriſtian and Mohammedan religion ſeem to have taken poſſeſſion of the two extremities of that part of the weſt of Africa, which is frequented by the Europeans. The muſſulmen of Barbary have carried their religious ſyſtem to the people of the Cape de Verd iſlands, who have extended it ſtill farther. In proportion as theſe religious opinions have been at a diſtance from their ſource, they have undergone ſo great an alteration, that each kingdom, each village, each family maintained a different ſyſtem. Excepting circumciſion, which is univerſal, one would hardly imagine theſe people profeſſed the ſame worſhip. This ſyſtem does not penetrate beyond the cape of Monta, whoſe inhabitants have no communication with their neighbours.

WHAT the Arabs had done to the north of the Line, for the Koran, the Portugueſe afterwards did to the ſouth for the goſpel. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, they eſtabliſhed it from the country of Benguela to Zara. A mode of worſhip, which offered ſure and eaſy means for the expiation of all crimes was perfectly agreeable

BOOK II.

able to the taſte of nations, whoſe religion did not afford them ſuch comfortable proſpects. If it was afterwards proſcribed in ſeveral ſtates it was owing to the exceſſes of thoſe who propagated it, which drew upon it this diſgrace. It hath even been totally diſguiſed in the countries where it has been preſerved; a few trifling ceremonies are the only remains of it.

THE coaſts which are in the center between theſe have preſerved ſome local ſuperſtitions, whoſe origin muſt be very ancient. They conſiſt in the worſhip of that innumerable multitude of divinities or Fetiches, which every perſon makes after his own fancy and for his own uſe, in the belief of auguries, trials by fire and boiling water, and in the power of Gris-Gris. There are ſome ſuperſtitions more dangerous, I mean that blind confidence which they repoſe in the prieſts who are the miniſters and promoters of them; theſe have the ſacred depoſit of the national traditions: and pretend to prophecy. The correſpondence which they are ſuppoſed to hold with the evil ſpirit makes them regarded as the ſupreme arbiters of the barrenneſs and fertility of the country. On this account the firſt fruits are always offered to them. All their other errors have a ſocial tendency, and conſpire to render man more humane and peaceable.

THE different religions, which are ſpread through Africa, have not changed the manner of living; becauſe the influence of the climate there is ſo predominant, that opinions have but little effect upon their manners. The houſes are always built of the branches of the palm-tree, moſt commonly of earth and covered with ſtraw, oſiers, or reeds. Their furniture conſiſts ſolely of baſkets, earthen pots, mats, which ſerve as beds, and calabaſhes of which all their utenſils are made. A girdle round the loins is their only apparel. They live on game, fiſh, fruit, rice, or on bread made of maize, ill-baked. Their

Their drink is the wine of the Palm-tree. Arts are unknown amongſt them. All their labours are confined to certain ruſtic employments. Scarcè one hundredth part of their country is cultivated, and that in a very wretched manner, either by poor people, or by ſlaves, who, from their indolence and condition, have the greateſt averſion from labours.

THERE is a greater variety in their manners than in their wants. On the banks of the Niger, the women are generally handſome, if beauty conſiſts in ſymmetry of proportion and not in colour. Modeſt, affable and faithful, an air of innocence appears in their looks, and their language is an indication of their baſhfulneſs. The names of Zilia, Calypſo, Fanny, Zama, which ſeem to be names of pleaſure, are pronounced with an inflection of voice, of the ſoftneſs and ſweetneſs of which our organs are not ſuſceptible. The men are of a proper ſize, their ſkin is as black as ebony, and their features and countenances pleaſing. The habit of taming horſes and hunting wild beaſts gives them an air of dignity. They do not eaſily put up with an affront, but the example of thoſe animals they have reared, inſpires them with boundleſs gratitude for a maſter who treats them with indulgence. It is impoſſible to find ſervants more attentive, more ſober, and who have ſtronger attachments; but they do not make good huſbandmen; becauſe their body is not habituated to ſtoop and to bend towards the ground, in order to clear it.

THE complexion of the Africans degenerates towards the eaſt. The people of this climate are ſtrong, but ſhort. They have an air of ſtrength, which is denoted by firm muſcles; and the features of their faces are ſpread out, and have no expreſſion. The figures impreſſed on their foreheads and on their cheeks increaſed their

BOOK II.

natural deformity. An ungrateful ſoil, which is not improveable by culture, hath forced them to have recourſe to fiſhing, tho' the ſea, which is almoſt impracticable by means of a bar that runs along the coaſt, ſeems to divert them from it. Thus repulſed, as it were, by the elements, they have ſought for aid among adjacent nations more favoured by nature; from whom they have derived their ſubſiſtence by ſelling them ſalt. A ſpirit of traffic hath been diffuſed among them ſince the arrival of the Europeans; becauſe ideas are unfolded in all men in proportion to the variety of objects that are preſented to them; and becauſe more combinations are neceſſary to barter a ſlave for ſeveral ſorts of merchandiſe, than to ſell a buſhel of ſalt. Beſides, though they are well adapted to all employments where ſtrength only is required, yet they are unfit for the internal duties of domeſtic life. This condition of life is repugnant to their cuſtoms, according to which they are paid ſeparately for every thing they do. And, indeed, the reciprocation of daily labour and daily recompence is, perhaps, one of the beſt incentives to induſtry among all men. The wives of theſe mercantile negroes ſhare all their labours except that of fiſhing. They have neither the amiableneſs, modeſty, diſcretion nor beauty of the women of the Niger, and they appear to have leſs ſenſibility. In comparing the two nations one would be tempted to imagine, that one is the loweſt claſs of people in a poliſhed and civilized city, and that the other hath enjoyed the advantages of a ſuperior education. Their language ſtrongly indicates their character. The accents of the one have an extreme ſweetneſs, thoſe of the other, are harſh and dry like the ſoil they inhabit. Their vivacity, even in pleaſures, reſembles the furious tranſports of anger.

BEYOND

BEYOND the river Volta, in Benin, and in the other countries, known under the general name of the golden coaſt, the people have a ſmooth ſkin, and of a dark black colour, their teeth are beautiful; they are of a middling ſtature, but well-ſhaped, and they have a baſhful countenance. Their faces tho' agreeable enough would be much more ſo, if the women were not uſed to ſcar them, and the men to burn their foreheads. The baſis of their creed is a metempſychoſis of a peculiar kind: they believe, that in whatever place they remove to, or wherever they are tranſported, they ſhall return after their death, whether cauſed by the laws of nature or by their own hands, to their own country. This conviction conſtitutes their happineſs; becauſe they conſider their country as the moſt delightful abode in the univerſe. This pleaſing error conduces to humanize them. Foreigners, who reſide in this climate, are treated with reſpectful civility, from a perſuaſion that they are come there to receive the recompence due to their conduct. This people have a diſpoſition to chearfulneſs not obſervable in the neighbouring nations; they are inclined to labour, have a ready conception, a ſolidity of judgment, principles of equity, ſeldom altered by circumſtances, and a great facility of adapting themſelves to foreign manners. They are tenacious of their commercial cuſtoms, even when they are not advantageous to them. The method of trafficking with them was, for a long time, the ſame that had formerly obtained among them. The firſt veſſel that landed finiſhed its traffic before another would enter upon theirs. Each had its turn. The price fixed for one, was the ſame for all. It is but very lately that the nation hath been determined to avail itſelf of the advantages it might derive from the number of European nations frequenting its ports.

BOOK II.

THE people ſituated between the Line and Zaire, have all a great reſemblance to one another. They are well made. Their bodies are leſs robuſt than thoſe of the inhabitants to the north of the equator; and though there are ſome marks on their faces, one never perceives any of thoſe ſcars which are ſo ſhocking at firſt ſight. Their food is ſimple, and their life frugal. They love eaſe and never labour beyond their ſtrength. Their feaſts are accompanied with military ſports, which revive the idea of our ancient tournaments; with this difference, that in Europe they conſtituted the exerciſes of a warlike nation, whereas in Africa they are the amuſements of a timid people. The women are not admitted to theſe public diverſions. Aſſembled together in certain houſes they ſpend the day in private, and no men are ever admitted into their ſociety. The jealouſy of diſtinction is the ſtrongeſt paſſion of theſe people, who are naturally peaceable. A certain degree of ceremony obtains both at the court of princes and in private life. Upon the moſt trivial occurrences, they fly to their friends either to congratulate them or to condole with them. A marriage occaſions viſiting for three months. The funeral obſequies of a perſon of diſtinction continue ſometimes two years. Thoſe who were connected to him, in any degree, carry his remains about through the ſeveral provinces. The crowd gathers as they proceed, and no perſon departs, till the corpſe is depoſited in the tomb, with all the demonſtrations of the deepeſt ſorrow. So determined a taſte for ceremony hath proved favourable to ſuperſtition, and ſuperſtition hath promoted a ſpirit of indolence. In theſe countries, the earth ſufficiently fertile, without requiring much labour, is only cultivated by women, whom ſervitude or penury condemn to this drudgery. Men ſlaves, or free men if poor, are

are employed in hunting and fiſhing, or are deſtined to augment the retinue of the great. There is in this nation in general leſs equality between the two ſexes than is found among their neighbours. Birth and rank here impart to ſome women the right of chooſing a huſband, whom they keep in the moſt extreme ſubjection. They have even the right, whenever they are diſſatisfied with their choice, of condemning him to ſlavery; and it is to be imagined that they freely make uſe of this priviledge, however humiliating it may be to the two ſexes. For, what is that man, whom a woman can make her ſlave? He is good neither for her, nor for himſelf.

FROM Zaire to the river of Coanza, the ancient cuſtoms ſtill remain; but they are blended with a confuſed mixture of European manners, which are not to be found elſewhere. It is probable that the Portugueſe, who have large ſettlements in this country, and who were deſirous of introducing the chriſtian religion among them, had a greater intercourſe with them than they had with other nations, who having only factories to the north of the line, have been employed in nothing but their commerce.

THE reader need not be told, that all we have related concerning the people of Guinea, ought only to be applied to that claſs which, in all countries, ſtamps the character of a nation. The inferior orders and ſlaves are farther removed from this reſemblance, in proportion as they are debaſed or degraded by their occupations or their conditions. However, the moſt diſcerning inquirers have obſerved, that the difference of conditions did not produce in this people varieties ſo diſtinguiſhable as we find in the ſtates which are ſituated between the Elbe and the Tiber, which are nearly of the ſame extent of country as the Niger and the Coanza. The farther men depart from nature, the leſs muſt they re-

BOOK II.

ſemble one another. The multiplicity of civil and political inſtitutions neceſſarily throws into the moral character and into the natural habits, ſhades, which are unknown to ſocieties leſs complicated. Beſides, nature being more powerful under the torrid than under the temperate zone, does not permit the influence of morals to exert itſelf ſo ſtrongly. Men there bear a greater ſimilitude to one another, becauſe they owe every thing to nature, and very little to art. In Europe, an extenſive and diverſified commerce, varying and multiplying the enjoyments, the fortunes and ſeveral conditions of men, adds likewiſe to the differences which the climate, the laws, and the common prejudices have eſtabliſhed among active and laborious nations.

Ancient trade of Guinea.

In Guinea, trade has never been able to cauſe a ſufficient alteration in the manners of its inhabitants. It formerly conſiſted of certain exchanges of ſalt and dried fiſh, which were conſumed by the nations remote from the coaſt. Theſe gave in return ſtuffs made of a kind of thread, which was only a woody ſubſtance, cloſely adhering to the inner ſide of the bark of a particular tree in theſe climates. The air hardens it, and renders it fit for every kind of weaving. They make them up in bonnets of different kinds, ſcarfs, aprons for their girdles, varying in ſhape according to the particular mode of each nation. The natural colour of the thread is a pale grey. The dew, which bleaches our flax, gives it a citron colour, which rich people prefer. The black dye, generally uſed among the people, is extracted from the bark that makes this thread, by ſimple infuſion in water. As this thread readily takes all colours, this hath induced them to form of it different figures of men, birds, and quadrupeds. The ſtuffs thus worked,

ſerve

ſerve to hang their apartments with, to cover their ſeats, and for other kinds of furniture.

THE firſt Europeans, who frequented the weſtern coaſts of Africa, fixed a value on wax, ivory, and gum, which intrinſically they did not poſſeſs. They gave an eſtimation to gold, from which they drew at moſt three thouſand marks a year. Their reſtleſs avarice, which has never been ſatisfied with this produce, made them frequently concert expedients to augment it. They flatter themſelves, that their deſigns will ſoon be ſucceſsful by the following ſcheme.

IN the interior parts of Africa, under the twelfth or thirteenth degree of north latitude, there is, ſays a modern traveller, a pretty large country, known by the name of Bambuck. It is not ſubject to a particular king, but governed by village lords, called Farims. Theſe hereditary and independent chiefs are all obliged to unite for the defence of the ſtate, when it is either attacked as a community, or only in any one of its members.

THE territory of this ariſtocratical ſtate, is dry and barren. It produces neither maize, rice, nor vegetables. The inſupportable heats it is ſubject to, proceed in part from its being ſurrounded by high mountains, which prevent the winds from refreſhing the air. The climate is as unwholeſome as it is diſagreeable: vapours, which continually iſſue from the bowels of a ſoil replete with minerals, render living there dangerous, eſpecially to ſtrangers.

GOLD, which is abundant in this wretched country, had made it an object worthy of notice: gold, which in the eyes of the covetous man, ſeems to compenſate for all the evils of nature, tho' in reality it increaſes them all. This metal is ſo common in this country, that it is found almoſt indiſcriminately every where. To obtain

BOOK II.

it, ſometimes it is ſufficient to ſcrape the ſurface of the earth, that is clayiſh, light, and mixed with ſand. When the mine is very rich, it is dug only to the depth of a few feet, and never lower; though it has been obſerved, that the lower they went, the more gold the ſoil afforded. The miners are too indolent to purſue a toil which conſtantly becomes more tedious, and too ignorant to prevent the inconveniences it would be attended with. Their negligence and their folly are in this inſtance ſo extraordinary, that in waſhing the gold, in order to ſeparate it from the earth, they only preſerve the larger pieces, the light parts paſs away with the water, which flows down an inclined plain.

THE inhabitants of Bambuck do not work theſe mines at all times, nor is it left to them to do it when they pleaſe. They are obliged ſo wait till perſonal or public wants determine the Farims to grant this permiſſion. When it is proclaimed, all who are allowed to profit from them, meet at the appointed place. When their work is finiſhed, a diviſion is made. Half of the gold goes to the lord, and the remainder is equally diſtributed among the labourers. Thoſe who want gold at any other time than that of the general digging, go in ſearch of it in the beds of the rivers, where it is very common.

THE French and Engliſh have ſucceſſively caſt an envious eye on theſe real and imaginary riches. Some thought they could be conveyed into this country by the Niger, others by the Salum. Far from having ſucceeded in their attempts of becoming maſters of this country, they have not yet aſcertained its exiſtence. The unſucceſsfulneſs of paſt efforts hath redoubled the activity of ſanguine minds: ſenſible and judicious merchants have choſen to limit themſelves to a commerce much more important, which is that of ſlaves.

THE

New commerce of Guinea, or the ſlave trade.

THE property which ſome men have acquired over others in Guinea, is of very high antiquity. It is generally eſtabliſhed there, excepting in ſome little diſtricts, where liberty hath retired and concealed herſelf. No proprietor, however, has a right to ſell a man who is born in a ſtate of ſervitude. He can only diſpoſe of thoſe ſlaves whom he gets, whether by war, in which every priſoner is a ſlave unleſs exchanged, or in lieu of compenſation for ſome injury; or if he hath received them as a teſtimony of acknowledgment. This law, which ſeems to be made in favour of one who is born a ſlave, to indulge him with the enjoyment of his family and of his country, is yet ineffectual, ſince the Europeans have eſtabliſhed luxury on the coaſts of Africa. It is every day eluded by concerted quarrels, which two proprietors mutually diſſemble, in order to be reciprocally condemned, each in his turn, to a fine, which is paid in perſons born ſlaves, the diſpoſal of whom is allowed by the ſanction of the ſame law.

CORRUPTION, contrary to its ordinary progreſs, hath advanced from private perſons to princes. Contentions have been multiplied in order to procure ſlaves, as war is excited in Europe in order to procure ſoldiers. They have eſtabliſhed the cuſtom of puniſhing with ſlavery not only thoſe who have attempted the lives or properties of citizens, but thoſe alſo who were incapable of paying their debts, and thoſe who have violated conjugal faith. This puniſhment, in proceſs of time, was inflicted for the moſt trivial miſdemeanors, after having been at firſt reſerved only for the greateſt crimes. They have not ceaſed to multiply prohibitions of things indifferent, in order to increaſe the revenues raiſed from the fines by increaſing the number of offences. Injuſtice hath not been contained within any limits or reſtraints. At a great diſtance from the coaſt, there

are

BOOK II.

are chiefs, who give orders for every thing they meet with in the villages around them, to be carried off. The children are thrown into ſacks: the men and women are gagged to ſtifle their cries. If the ravagers are ſtopped by a ſuperior force, they are conducted before the prince, who always diſowns the commiſſion he has given, and under pretence of doing juſtice, inſtantly ſells his agents to the ſhips he has treated with.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe infamous arts, the people of the coaſt have found it impoſſible to ſupply the demands of the merchants. It has happened to them, what every nation muſt experience, which cannot trade but with its nominal ſtock. Slaves are to the commerce of Europeans in Africa, what gold is in the commerce we carry on with the new world. The heads of the negroes repreſent the ſtock of the ſtate of Guinea. Every day this ſtock is carried off, and nothing is left them but articles of conſumption. Their capital gradually vaniſhes, becauſe it cannot be renewed, by reaſon of the ſpeedy conſumptions. Thus the trade for blacks would long ſince have been entirely loſt, if the inhabitants of the coaſts had not imparted their luxury to the people of the inland countries, from whom they now draw the greateſt part of the ſlaves that are put into our hands. Thus the trade of the Europeans, by gradual advances, has almoſt exhauſted the only vendible commodities of this nation.

IN the ſpace of twenty years this circumſtance hath raiſed the price of ſlaves almoſt to four times above the former coſt: the reaſon is this. The payments they receive, conſiſt chiefly of the merchandize of the Eaſt-Indies, which have doubled their value in Europe. A double quantity of theſe goods muſt be given in Africa.

Thus

Thus the colonies of America, where the ſale for blacks is concluded, are obliged to ſupport theſe ſeveral augmentations, and conſequently to pay four times more than they formerly did.

THE diſtant proprietor, however, who ſells his ſlave, receives leſs profit than the perſon received fifty years ago, who ſold his ſlave in the neighbourhood of the coaſt. The profits intercepted by paſſing through different hands, the expences of tranſport, the impoſts, ſometimes of three *per cent.* that muſt be paid to thoſe princes through whoſe territories they paſs, ſink the difference betwixt the ſum which the firſt proprietor receives, and that which the European trader pays. Theſe expences continually increaſe on account of the great diſtances of the places where there are ſtill ſlaves to be ſold. The further off this firſt ſale is, the greater will be the difficulties attending travelling. They will become ſuch, that of the ſum which the European merchant will be able to pay, there will remain ſo little to offer to the firſt ſeller, that he will rather chooſe to keep his ſlave. Then all trade of this kind will ceaſe. In order, therefore, to ſupport it effectually, our traders muſt purchaſe at an exorbitant price, and ſell in proportion to the colonies; which, on their part, not being able to diſpoſe of their produce but at an enormous price, will no longer find people to conſume it. But till that time comes, which is, perhaps, not ſo diſtant as the coloniſts imagine, they will quietly live on the blood and labours of the negroes. They will find navigators who will hazard the purchaſing of them, and tyrants who will ſell them.

SLAVE merchants are united by a mutual confederacy, and forming a ſpecies of caravans, in the ſpace of two or three hundred leagues they conduct ſeveral files of thirty or forty ſlaves, all laden with water and corn which

BOOK II.

which are neceſſary to their ſubſiſtence in thoſe thirſty deſerts through which they paſs. The manner of ſecuring them without much incommoding their march, is ingeniouſly deviſed. A fork of wood from eight to nine feet long is put round the neck of each ſlave. A pin of iron riveted ſecures the fork in ſuch a manner that the head cannot diſengage itſelf. The handle of the fork, the wood of which is very heavy, falls before and ſo embarraſſes the perſon who is tied to it, that tho' he has his arms and legs free, he can neither walk, nor lift up the fork. When they get ready for their march, they range the ſlaves on the ſame line, and ſupport and tie the extremity of each fork on the ſhoulder of the foremoſt ſlave, and proceed in this manner from one to another, up to the firſt, the extremity of whoſe fork is carried by one of the guides. Few reſtraints are impoſed that are not felt by the perſons who impoſe them. In order that theſe traders may enjoy the refreſhment of ſleep without uneaſineſs, they tie the arms of every ſlave to the tail of the fork which he carries. In this condidition he can neither run away nor make any attempt to regain his liberty. Theſe precautions have been found indiſpenſible, becauſe, if the ſlave can but break his chain, he becomes free. The public faith, which ſecures to the proprietor the poſſeſſion of his ſlave, and which at all times delivers him up into his hands, is ſilent with regard to a ſlave and a trader who exerciſes the moſt contemptible of all profeſſions.

GREAT numbers of ſlaves arrive together, eſpecially when they come from diſtant countries: This arrangement is neceſſary, in order to diminiſh the expence which is unavoidable in conducting them. The interval between one voyage and another, which by this ſyſtem of oeconomy is already made too diſtant may become ſtill greater by particular circumſtances. The moſt uſual

uſual are the rains, which cauſe the rivers to overflow, and trade to languiſh. The ſeaſon moſt favourable to travelling in the interior parts of Africa, is from February to September, and it is from September to March, that the return of theſe ſlave traders produces the greateſt plenty of this traffic on the coaſts.

Account of the places, and manner in which the ſlave trade is carried on.

THE trade of the Europeans is carried on to the ſouth and north of the line. The firſt coaſt, known by the name of Angola, hath but three ports, open indifferently to all nations; theſe are Cabenda, Loango, Malemba, and two, of which the Portugueſe are the ſole maſters, St. Paul de Loando, and St. Philip de Benguela. Theſe latitudes nearly ſupply one third of the blacks that are carried to America, who are neither the moſt intelligent, nor the moſt laborious, nor the moſt robuſt. The ſecond coaſt, known by the general name of the Gold Coaſt, has more roads, but they are not equally favourable to commerce. The reſtraint which the European forts have laid in ſeveral places, drives away the dealers in ſlaves. They are to be met with in much larger numbers at Anambou and Calbary, where buſineſs is tranſacted with the utmoſt liberty.

IN 1768 there were exported out of Africa 104,100 ſlaves. The Engliſh have exported 53,100 for their iſlands; their coloniſts on the north continent carried away 6300; the French 23,500; the Dutch 11,300; the Portugueſe 8,700; and the Danes 1200. All theſe wretches did not arrive at the place of their deſtination. In the ordinary courſe of things, the eighth part muſt have periſhed in their paſſage. Every nation hath employed in its colonies ſuch cultivators of land as it hath purchaſed. Great Britain only has ceded four thouſand of them to the Spaniards, and ſmuggled about three thouſand in the French ſettlements.

BOOK II.

It would be a very great miſtake to imagine, that America regularly receives the ſame number of negroes. Not to mention the conſiderable diminution in the number of expeditions to Guinea, on account of the war, the arrangements of the laſt peace have occaſioned new lands to be cultivated, which required extraordinary ſupplies. The number of men muſt be reduced to ſixty thouſand, of which the African coaſts are deprived every year. Suppoſing that each of theſe ſlaves coſts on the ſpot three hundred livres, (13*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*) thoſe barbarous regions receive eighteen millions (787,500*l.*) for ſo horrid a ſacrifice.

The French merchant will exclaim, we doubt not, on the price to which ſlaves are here reduced. No one is ignorant that he purchaſes them much dearer; but it is likewiſe known that the Engliſh and the Dutch buy them up at a better price, becauſe they are not reduced by the inſufficiency of their Aſiatic commerce and the imperfection of certain manufactures proper to the African trade, to pay, as the French merchant does, for a commiſſion, freight, inſurance, in order to draw from foreign ports certain merchandiſe, which it is impoſſible to do without. The Portugueze have ſtill another advantage over theſe nations. They carry on their expeditions from Braſil; and their exchanges are generally made with the tobacco and brandy of their country; and they maintain an excluſive trade on the coaſts, which are two hundred leagues long, and forty broad.

Excepting the Portugueſe, all nations pay for ſlaves with the ſame merchandiſe. Theſe are ſabres, firelocks, gun-powder, iron, brandy, hardware, woollen ſtuffs, eſpecially Eaſt-India cottons, or thoſe which are wrought in Europe, and coloured in the ſame manner. The people north of the line have adopted, inſtead of money,

money, little white ſhells, which we import among them from the Maldives. South of the line, the European trade is without this object of exchange. There ſmall pieces of ſtraw ſtuff, eighteen inches long, and twelve broad, are uſed as marks of value. This real mark is only the fortieth part of an ideal value, which they call *piece*.

THIS word, from the time we have frequented Africa, is become the numerical term of all things that bear the greateſt value. The price of each ſpecies of merchandize that we import there, is invariably fixed under the denomination of one, two, three or more pieces. Each piece, in its original value, is nearly worth a piſtole, and for ſome time paſt, thirty-five or thirty-ſix pieces have been given for a negro, all taxes included. The greateſt of them is the fee that muſt be given to the factor, who always mediates between the vender and the purchaſer, whom it is of conſequence to make a friend of, and who is become ſo much the greater, as the competition between the Europeans has increaſed, and the want of ſlaves has made him ſenſible of his importance. Another tax, which though aſked under the name of a preſent, is no leſs an extorted tribute, is, that which muſt be paid to the prince and his chief officers, for the liberty of trading. The ſum is in proportion to the ſize of the veſſel, and it may be valued at three *per cent.*

Are forts neceſſary in order to procure ſlaves.

THE European nations have been of opinion that it was conducive to the utility of their commerce, to form ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa. The Portugueſe, who firſt traverſed theſe immenſe regions, left every where the marks of their ambition, rather than of their wiſdom. The weak and numberleſs colonies which they poured in, ſoon forgot a country, which had itſelf forgotten them. In time, there remained of theſe great conqueſts

BOOK II.

conqueſts nothing but that vaſt ſpace which extends from Zara to cape Negro, from whence Brazil ſtill draws its ſlaves. They have preſerved too ſome iſles of little conſequence. Thoſe which are ſituated at the weſt of Cape de Verd, produce ſalt, feed cattle, and ſerve as a place of refreſhment for veſſels going to the Eaſt-Indies. Prince's iſland, and St. Thomas, which are at the entrance of the gulph of Gabon, ſupply navigators with freſh proviſions, who, after leaving the gold coaſt, ſail to America. They are both totally diſregarded in the commercial world.

THOUGH Portugal, even in the earlieſt times, derived but very moderate advantages from the coaſts of Africa, it was yet ſo jealous of the ſovereignty which it exerciſed there, in virtue of its diſcovery, that it thought no nation had a right to approach them. The Engliſh, who firſt ventured to queſtion the right of theſe pretenſions, about the year 1553, ſuſtained the affront of having their veſſels ſeized. A national war immediately enſued, and the ſuperiority of arms put a final period to this tyranny. In proceſs of time, the excluſive companies of England, who had embarked in this trade, ſucceſſively formed factories without number, of which that of cape Corſe, ſituated on the gold coaſt, and that of James, placed in an iſland, at the mouth of the river Gambia, were for a conſiderable time the principal and the moſt uſeful. Though many of them had been abandoned, there ſtill remained ſixteen, when the parliament, rouzed by the public clamour, determined in 1752, to put a ſtop to this monopoly. The nation purchaſed of the proprietors all theſe fortified magazines, for the ſum of 1,523,198 livres, 13 ſols, (66,639*l.* 18*s.* 9*d.* ½.) where there were no more than one hundred and twenty men. The expence of maintaining them amounts annually to about 292,500 livres, (12,726*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*)

THE

THE Engliſh almoſt entirely engroſſed the African trade, when the Dutch, in 1637, undertook to ſhare it with them. The war they were carrying on againſt Spain, authoriſed them to attack the Portugueſe ſettlements in Guinea; and they made themſelves maſters of moſt of them in a very ſhort time. The treaty of 1641, ſecured the property of them to the republic. This ſtate, pretending to enter into all the rights of the firſt poſſeſſor, intended to exclude her rival from theſe latitudes, and ceaſed not to moleſt her till the peace of Breda. Of all theſe conqueſts, that of fort Mina, on the gold coaſt, was found the moſt important. It had been built in 1452, by the Portugueſe, who had enriched its territory by planting ſugar-canes, maize, different kinds of excellent fruits, and had ſupplied it with a number of uſeful animals, which they had imported thither. They drew from thence much gold and ſome ſlaves. This ſettlement did not degenerate in the hands of the Hollanders, who made it the center of all the factories they had acquired, and of all the buſineſs they carried on in Africa.

THE proſperity of the Dutch, in this part of the world, was at its height, when they were attacked by Lewis the XIVth. This prince, who aſpired after univerſal glory, ſeized an opportunity offered him by the war of 1672, of extending the terror which his flag carried with it on all the ſeas, even to the borders of Africa. He took from the Dutch the forts of Arguin and Portendic, which were at that time the general market for gum. His ſubjects afterwards eſtabliſhed on the coaſt ſeveral poſts which were obliged to be abandoned, either becauſe they were injudiciouſly choſen, or becauſe they wanted ſtrength to maintain them. Since the time that France, by a ſeries of errors and

BOOK II.

misfortunes, hath found herſelf under a neceſſity of giving up Senegal to the Engliſh by the laſt treaty, ſhe hath nothing now remaining but the factory of Juida, and the iſland of Gorée, where there is not, nor ever will be any trade. Some years ago, a ſettlement that would have been of advantage to Anambou, began to be formed, when the workmen were driven away by cannon-ſhot fired in a time of full peace, by the ſhips of Great Britain. An able merchant, who was then at London, at the news of this outrage, expreſſed his aſtoniſhment at a conduct ſo imprudent. *Sir*, ſaid a miniſter to him, who was in great favour with this intelligent people, *if we were to be juſt to the French, we ſhould not exiſt thirty years longer.*

The Danes, who ſettled in Africa a little after the middle of the laſt century, and who purchaſed of the king of Aquambo the two forts of Frederickburg and Chriſtianburg, ſituated on the golden coaſt near each other, never experienced a ſimilar treatment. They owed the tranquility which they enjoyed to the inſignificancy of the trade they carried on. It was in ſo low a ſtate, that they only fitted out a ſingle veſſel every two or three years. This trade hath been extended for ſome time paſt, but it is ſtill far from being conſiderable.

If we except the Portugueſe, all the European nations ſubjected their African trade to excluſive charters. The companies in poſſeſſion of this monopoly, the errors of which all governments at laſt have felt and put a ſtop to, fortified their factories, both in order to drive away ſtrangers, and to oblige the natives to ſell to none but themſelves. When the diſtricts, in which theſe forts were erected, had no more ſlaves to deliver, trade languiſhed, becauſe the people in the inland countries preferred the conveying their ſlaves into free ports, where they might chuſe the purchaſers. Thus the factories,

tories, which had been of ſuch utility when the coaſt was populous, are no longer ſo valuable, ſince the factors of them are obliged to make long voyages, in order to complete their purchaſe. The advantage of theſe eſtabliſhments was loſt, when the object of their commerce was exhauſted.

In the ſlave trade ſmall veſſels are preferable to great ones.

THE difficulty of procuring ſlaves naturally points out the neceſſity of employing ſmall ſhips for carrying them off. At a time when a ſmall territory, adjacent to the coaſt, furniſhed in fifteen days, or three weeks, a whole cargo, it was prudent to employ large veſſels, becauſe there was a poſſibility of underſtanding, looking after, and comforting the ſlaves, who all ſpoke the ſame language. Now that each ſhip can ſcarce procure ſixty or eighty ſlaves a month, brought from the diſtance of two or three hundred leagues, exhauſted by the fatigues of a long journey, embarked to remain five or ſix months in ſight of their country, having all different idioms, uncertain of the deſtiny that awaits them, ſtruck with the prepoſſeſſion that the Europeans eat them and drink their blood; their extreme uneaſineſs alone kills them, or occaſions diſorders which become contagious by the impoſſibility of ſeparating the ſick from the healthy. A ſmall ſhip deſtined to carry two or three hundred negroes, by means of the ſhort ſtay it makes on the coaſt, avoids half the accidents and loſſes which a ſhip capable of holding five or ſix hundred ſlaves is expoſed to. Thus the Engliſh, who have extended this commerce as far as poſſible, have adopted the cuſtom of ſending only veſſels of an hundred and twenty, or an hundred and thirty tons into the ſeas which extend from Senegal to the river Volta, and to fit out veſſels a little larger only for Colbar, where the trade is more briſk, and where they make their principal cargoes. The French are the only

BOOK II.

people who obſtinately adhere to the old mode. The town of Nantes, however, which alone carries on as much trade as all the other ports of the kingdom together, begins to get rid of its prejudices. It will undoubtedly entirely relinquiſh them; and all the merchants who conduct the ſame trade on their own bottoms, will follow its example.

There are ſeaſons more or leſs favourable to the ſlave trade.

THERE are abuſes of the utmoſt conſequence, to be reformed in this voyage, which is naturally unhealthy. Thoſe who engage in it commonly fall into two great miſtakes. Dupes to a mercenary diſpoſition, the privateers pay more regard to the port than to the diſpatch of their veſſels, a circumſtance which neceſſarily prolongs the voyage, which every thing ſhould induce them to ſhorten as much as poſſible. Another inconvenience ſtill more dangerous, is, the cuſtom they have of ſailing from Europe at all times; though the regularity of the winds and the currents hath determined the moſt proper ſeaſon for arriving at theſe latitudes.

THIS bad practice hath given riſe to the diſtinction of the great and little voyage. The little voyage is the ſtraighteſt and the ſhorteſt. It is no more than eighteen hundred leagues to the moſt diſtant ports where there are ſlaves. It may be performed in thirty-five or forty days, from the beginning of September to the end of November; becauſe, from the time of ſetting out to the time of arrival, the winds and the currents are favourable. It is very poſſible to attempt it in December, January and February, but with leſs ſecurity and ſucceſs.

SAILING is no longer practicable in theſe latitudes, from the beginning of March to the end of Auguſt. One would have continually to ſtruggle againſt the violent currents which run northward, and againſt the ſouth-eaſt wind, which conſtantly blows. Experience has

has taught navigators, that during this ſeaſon, they muſt keep at a diſtance from the ſhore, get into the open ſea, ſail towards the ſouth as far as twenty-ſix or twenty-eight degrees betwixt Africa and Braſil, and afterwards draw gradually nearer and nearer to Guinea, in order to land at an hundred and fifty or two hundred leagues to wind-ward of the port where they are to diſembark. This route is two thouſand five hundred leagues, and requires ninety or an hundred days ſail.

THIS great route, independent of its length, deprives them of the moſt favourable time for trade and for returning. The ſhips meet with calms, are thwarted by winds, and carried away by currents; water fails them, the proviſions are ſpoiled, and the ſlaves are ſeized with the ſcurvy. Other calamities, not leſs fatal, often increaſe the danger that attends this expedition. The negroes, to the north of the Line, are ſubject to the ſmall-pox, which by a ſingularity very diſtreſſing, ſeldom breaks out among this people till after the age of fourteen. If this contagion affects a ſhip which is at her moorings, there are ſeveral known methods to leſſen its violence. But a ſhip attacked by this diſtemper, that is on its way to America, often loſes the whole cargo of ſlaves. Thoſe who are born to the ſouth of the Line, avoid this diſeaſe by another, which is a kind of virulent ulcer, whoſe malignity is more violent and more irritable on the ſea, and which is never radically cured. Phyſicians ought, perhaps, to obſerve this double effect of the ſmall-pox among the negroes, which is, that it favours thoſe who are born beyond the Equator, and never attacks the others in their infancy. The number and variety of effects ſometimes afford occaſion for the inveſtigation of the cauſes of diſorders, and for the diſcovery of remedies proper for them.

BOOK II.

THOUGH all the nations, concerned in the African trade, are equally intereſted in preſerving the ſlaves in their paſſage, they do not all attend to it alike. They all feed them with beans, mixed with a ſmall quantity of rice; but they differ in other reſpects in their manners of treating them.

THE Engliſh, Dutch and Danes keep the men conſtantly in irons, and frequently hand-cuff the women: the ſmall number of hands they have on board their ſhips obliges them to this ſeverity. The French who have greater numbers of men, allow them more liberty; three or four days after their departure they take off all their fetters. Both nations eſpecially the Engliſh, are too negligent with regard to the intercourſe between their ſailors and the women ſlaves. The effects of this occaſion the death of three-fourths of thoſe whom the Guinea voyage deſtroys every year. None, but the Portugueſe, during their paſſage, are ſecured againſt revolts and other calamities. This advantage is a conſequence of the care they take to man their veſſels only with negroes to whom they have given their freedom. The ſlaves, encouraged by the diſcourſe and condition of their countrymen, form a tolerably favourable idea of the deſtiny that awaits them. The quietneſs of their behaviour induces the Portugueſe to grant the two ſexes the happineſs of living together: an indulgence, which, if allowed in other veſſels, would be productive of the greateſt inconveniences.

IT is a generally received opinion, that the blacks, who are brought from America, are now ſold at a higher price than they were formerly. This is a miſtake, ariſing from this circumſtance, that the purchaſer pays attention only to the number of thoſe arbitrary marks of value which he gives, inſtead of reckoning the quantity

quantity of thoſe commodities he delivers in exchange. This proportion, which is the only exact one, will make him ſenſible that the price of negroes hath not advanced; ſince they are purchaſed with the ſame quantity of thoſe commodities as they were in they earlieſt times. It is the value of money that hath changed, and not that of the unhappy ſlave.

Manner of ſelling the ſlaves in America.

All nations do not ſell their ſlaves in the ſame way. The Engliſhman who hath promiſcuouſly bought up whatever preſented itſelf in the general market, ſells his cargo by wholeſale. A ſingle merchant buys it entire; and the planters parcel it out. What they do not like is ſent into foreign colonies, either by ſmuggling, or with permiſſion. The cheapneſs of a negro is a greater object to the buyer to induce him to purchaſe than the badneſs of his conſtitution is to deter him from it. They will one day be convinced of the abſurdity of ſuch a conduct.

The Portugueſe, Dutch, French and Danes, who have no way of diſpoſing of the decayed and weakly ſlaves, never charge themſelves with them in Guinea. They all divide their cargoes, according to the demands of the proprietors of plantations. The bargain is made in ready money, or for credit according to the circumſtances. When the term is fixed for eighteen months, as it happens but too often in the French colonies, the negro's labour muſt by that time have brought in two-thirds of the price paid for him. If that does not always happen, it is owing to particular reaſons, the detail of which would be ſuperfluous.

Wretched condition of the ſlaves.

In America it is generally believed and aſſerted, that the Africans are equally incapable of reaſon and of virtue. The following well-authenticated fact will enable us to judge of this opinion.

BOOK II.

AN Engliſh ſhip that traded in Guinea in 1752, was obliged to leave the ſurgeon behind them, whoſe bad ſtate of health did not permit him to continue at ſea. Murray was then endeavouring to recover his health, when a Dutch veſſel drew near the coaſt, put the blacks into irons, whom curioſity had brought to the ſhore, and inſtantly ſailed off with their booty.

THOSE who intereſted themſelves for theſe unhappy people, incenſed at ſo baſe a treachery, inſtantly ran to Cudjoe, who ſtopped them at his door, and aſked them what they were in ſearch of. *The white man, who is with you*, replied they, *who ſhould be put to death, becauſe his brethren have carried off ours. The Europeans*, anſwered the generous hoſt, *who have carried off our countrymen, are barbarians; kill them whenever you find them. But he who lodges with me is a good man, he is my friend; my houſe is his fortreſs; I am his ſoldier, and I will defend him. Before you can get at him you ſhall paſs over my body. O my friends, what juſt man would ever enter my doors, if I had ſuffered my habitation to be ſtained with the blood of an innocent man?* This diſcourſe appeaſed the rage of the blacks: they retired aſhamed of the deſign that had brought them there; and ſome days after acknowledged to Murray himſelf, how happy they were that they had not committed a crime, which would have occaſioned them perpetual remorſe.

THIS event renders it probable, that the firſt impreſſions which the Africans receive in the new world, determine them either to good or bad actions. Repeated experience confirms the truth of this obſervation: thoſe who fall to the ſhare of an humane maſter, willingly eſpouſe his intereſt. They inſenſibly adopt the ſpirit and manners of the place where they are fixed. This attachment is ſometimes exalted even into heroiſm. A Portugueſe

Portugueſe ſlave, what had fled into the woods, having learnt that his old maſter had been taken up for an aſſaſſination, came into the court of juſtice, and acknowledged himſelf guilty of the fact; let himſelf be put in priſon in lieu of his maſter; brought falſe, though judicial, proofs of his pretended crime, and ſuffered death inſtead of the guilty perſon. Actions of a leſs heroical nature, though not uncommon, have touched the hearts of ſome coloniſts. Several would readily ſay as Sir William Gooch, governor of Virginia, when he was blamed for returning the ſalutati- of a black: *I ſhould be very ſorry that a ſlave ſhould be more polite than myſelf.*

But there are barbarians, who looking upon pity as a weakneſs, are delighted with holding the rod of tyranny always over the head of their dependents. Thanks be to heaven, they receive their puniſhment in the negligence, infidelity, deſertion, and ſuicide of the deplorable victims of their inſatiable avarice. One ſometimes ſees theſe wretches, thoſe of Mina eſpecially, boldly put an end to their lives, under the firm perſuaſion, that they ſhall immediately after death riſe again in their own country, which they look upon as the fineſt in the world. A vindictive ſpirit furniſhes others with reſources ſtill more fatal. Inſtructed from their infancy in the arts of poiſons, which grow, as it were, under their hands, they employ them in the deſtruction of the cattle, the horſes, the mules, the companions of their ſlavery, and of every living thing employed in the cultivation of the lands of their oppreſſors. In order to remove from themſelves all ſuſpicion, they firſt exerciſe their cruelties on their wives, their children, their miſtreſſes, and on every thing that is dearеſt to them. In this dreadful purpoſe, that can only be the reſult of deſpair, they take the double pleaſure of

BOOK II.

of delivering their ſpecies from a yoke more dreadful than death, and of leaving their tyrant in a wretched ſtate of miſery, that is an image of their own condition. The fear of puniſhment does not check them. They are ſcarce ever known to have any kind of foreſight; and they are, moreover, certain of concealing their crimes, being proof againſt tortures. By means of one of thoſe inexplicable contradictions of the human heart, though common to all people, whether civilized or not, negroes though naturally cowards, give many proofs of an unſhaken firmneſs of ſoul. The ſame organization which ſubjects them to ſervitude, from the indolence of their mind, and the relaxation of their fibres, inſpires them with vigour and unparalleled reſolution for extraordinary actions. They are poltroons all their lifetime and heroes for an inſtant. One of theſe wretches has been known to cut his wriſt off with the ſtroke of an hatchet, rather than purchaſe his liberty, by ſubmitting to the vile office of an executioner.

NOTHING, however, is more miſerable than the condition of a black, throughout the whole American Archipelago. A narrow unwholeſome hut, without any conveniences, ſerves him for a dwelling. His bed is a hurdle, fitter to put his body in pain than to afford it any eaſe. Some earthen pots, and a few wooden diſhes, are his furniture. The coarſe linen which covers part of his body, neither ſecures him from the inſupportable heats of the day, nor the dangerous dews of the night. The food he is ſupplied with, is caſſava, ſalt beef, cod, fruits, and roots, which are ſcarce able to ſupport his miſerable exiſtence. Bereaved of every thing, he is condemned to a perpetual drudgery in a burning climate, conſtantly under the rod of an unfeeling maſter.

THE condition of theſe ſlaves, though every where deplorable, is ſomething different in the colonies. Thoſe who

who have very extenſive eſtates, generally give them a portion of land, to ſupply them with the neceſſaries of life. They are allowed to employ a part of the ſunday in cultivating it, and the few moments that on other days they ſpare from the time allotted for their meals. In the ſmaller iſlands, the coloniſt himſelf furniſhes their food, the greateſt part of which hath croſſed the ſeas. Ignorance, avarice, or poverty, have introduced into ſome colonies, a method of providing for the ſubſiſtence of negroes, equally deſtructive both to the men and the plantation. They allow them on ſaturday, or ſome other day, to work in the neighbouring plantations, or to plunder them, in order to procure a maintenance for the reſt of the week.

Besides theſe differences ariſing from the particular ſituation of the ſettlements in the American iſlands, each European nation hath a manner of treating ſlaves peculiar to itſelf. The Spaniards make them the companions of their indolence; the Portugueſe, the inſtruments of their debaucheries; the Dutch, the victims of their avarice; the Engliſh, who eaſily derive their ſubſiſtence from their eſtates on the northern continent, are leſs attentive to the managemeut of them than any other nations. If they never promote intermarriages among the blacks, they yet receive with kindneſs, as the gifts of nature, thoſe children that are the produce of leſs reſtrained connections, and ſeldom exact from the fathers or mothers a toil or a tribute above their ſtrength. Slaves, by them, are conſidered merely as natural productions, which ought neither to be uſed, nor deſtroyed without neceſſity; but they never treat them with familiarity; they never ſmile upon them, nor ſpeak to them. One would think they were afraid of letting them ſuſpect, that nature could have given any one mark of reſemblance betwixt them and

BOOK II.

and their ſlaves. This makes them hate the Engliſh. The French, leſs haughty, leſs diſdainful, conſider the Africans as a ſpecies of moral beings; and theſe unhappy men, ſenſible of the honour of ſeeing themſelves almoſt treated like rational creatures, ſeem to forget that their maſter is impatient of making his fortune, that he always overworks them, and frequently lets them want ſubſiſtance.

THE opinions of the Europeans have alſo ſome influence on the condition of the negroes of America. The proteſtants, who are not actuated by a deſire of making proſelytes, ſuffer them to live in Mohammedaniſm, or in that idolatry in which they were born, under a pretence, that it would be a wrong thing to keep *brethren in Chriſt* in a ſtate of ſlavery. The catholics think themſelves obliged to give them ſome inſtruction, and to baptize them; but their charity extends no further than the bare ceremonies of a baptiſm, which is wholly uſeleſs and unneceſſary to men who dread not the pains of hell, to which, as they ſay, they are accuſtomed in this life.

EVERY thing renders them inſenſible to the dread of future puniſhment, both the torments of their ſlavery and the diſorders to which they are liable in America. They are particularly ſubject to two diſeaſes, the yaws, and a complaint that affects their ſtomach. The firſt effect of this laſt diſorder is, to turn their ſkin and complexion to an olive colour. Their tongue becomes white, aad they are oppreſſed with ſuch a ſleep that they cannot reſiſt: they faint, and are incapable of the leaſt exercife. It is a languor, and a total relaxation of the whole machine. In this ſituation they are in ſuch a ſtate of deſpondency, that they ſuffer themſelves to be knocked down rather than walk. The loathing which they have of mild and wholeſome food, is attended with a kind of rage for every thing that is ſalted or ſpiced.

Their

Their legs ſwell, their breath is obſtructed, and few of them ſurvive this diſorder. The greateſt part die of ſuffocation, after having ſuffered and languiſhed for ſeveral months.

THE thickneſs of their blood, which appears to be the ſource of theſe diſorders, may proceed from ſeveral cauſes. One of the principal is undoubtedly the melancholy which muſt ſeize theſe men who are violently torn away from their country, who are fettered like criminals, find themſelves all on a ſudden on the ſea, where they continue for two months or ſix weeks, and who, from the midſt of a beloved family, paſs under the yoke of an unknown people, from whom they expect the moſt dreadful puniſhments. A ſpecies of food, new to them, and diſagreeable in itſelf, diſguſts them in their paſſage. At their arrival in the iſlands, the food that is diſtributed them, is neither good in quality, nor ſufficient in quantity. To complete their wretchedneſs, ſeveral among them have contracted in Africa, the habit of eating a certain earth, which gratified their taſte without any ways incommoding them: they ſeek for ſomething that reſembles this, and chance hath thrown in their way a ſoft ſtone of a deep yellow, which totally ſpoils their ſtomach.

THE yaws, which is the ſecond diſorder peculiar to negroes, diſcovers itſelf by blotches that are dry, hard, callous, and round, ſometimes covered by the ſkin, but moſt commonly ulcerated, and ſprinkled, as it were, with a whitiſh flower intermixed with yellow. The yaws have been confounded with the venereal diſeaſe, becauſe the ſame remedy is proper for both. This opinion, though pretty general, has leſs to ſupport it than at firſt ſight it appears to have.

ALL the negroes, as well male as female, who come from Guinea, or are born in the iſlands, have the yaws once

BOOK II.

once in their lives: it is a diſeaſe they muſt neceſſarily paſs through; but there is no inſtance of any of them being attacked with it a ſecond time, after having been radically cured. The Europeans ſeldom or never catch this diſorder, notwithſtanding the frequent and daily connection which they have with the negro women. Theſe women ſuckle the children, but do not give them the yaws. How is it poſſible to reconcile theſe facts, which are inconteſtible, with the ſyſtem which phyſicians ſeem to have adopted with regard to the nature of the yaws? Why will it not be allowed, that the ſemen, the blood, and ſkin of the negroes, are ſuſceptible of a virus peculiar to their ſpecies? The cauſe of this diſorder, perhaps, is owing to that which occaſions their colour: one difference is naturally productive of another: and their is no being or quality that exiſts abſolutely detached from others in nature.

BUT whatever this diſorder may be, it is evident from the moſt accurate and undeniable calculations, that there dies every year in America, the ſeventh part of the blacks that are imported thither from Guinea. Fourteen hundred thouſand wretches, that are now in the European colonies of the new world, are the unfortunate remains of nine millions of ſlaves that have been conveyed thither. This dreadful deſtruction cannot be the effect of the climate, which is nearly the ſame as that of Africa, much leſs of the diſorders, to which, in the opinion of all obſervers, but few fall a ſacrifice. It muſt originate from the manner in which theſe ſlaves are governed: and might not an error of this nature be corrected?

In what manner the condition of ſlaves might be rendered more ſupportable.

THE firſt ſtep neceſſary in this reformation would be to attend minutely to the natural and moral ſtate of man. Thoſe who go to purchaſe blacks on the coaſts of ſavage nations; thoſe who convey them to America, and

and eſpecially thoſe who direct their labouss, often think themſelves obliged, from their ſituation, and frequently too for the ſake of their own ſafety, to oppreſs theſe wretched men. The ſoul of theſe managers of ſlaves, loſt to all ſenſe of compaſſion, is ignorant of every motive to enforce obedience, but thoſe of fear or ſeverity, and theſe they exerciſe with all the harſhneſs of a temporary authority. If the proprietors of plantations would ceaſe to regard the care of their ſlaves, as an occupation below them, and conſider it as an office, to which it is their duty to attend, they would ſoon diſcard theſe errors that ariſe from a ſpirit of cruelty. The hiſtory of all mankind would ſhew them, that in order to render ſlavery uſeful, one muſt at leaſt make it eaſy; that force does not prevent the rebellion of the mind; that it is the maſter's intereſt that his ſlave ſhould live, and that nothing is to be expected from him the moment that he no longer fears to die.

THIS principle of enlightened reaſon, derived from the ſentiments of humanity, would contrioute to the reformation of ſeveral abuſes. Men would acknowledge the neceſſity of lodging, cloathing, and giving proper food to beings condemned to the moſt painful bondage that ever has exiſted ſince the infamous origin of ſlavery. They would be ſenſible, that it is naturally impoſſible, that thoſe who reap no advantage from the ſweat of their brows, can have the ſame underſtanding, the ſame oeconomy, the ſame activity, the ſame ſtrength, as the man who enjoys the produce of his induſtry. That political moderation would gradually take place, which conſiſts in leſſening of labour, alleviating puniſhment, and rendering to man part of his rights, in order to reap more certainly the benefit of thoſe offices that are impoſed upon him. The preſervation of a great number of ſlaves, whom diſorders, occaſioned by vexation

BOOK II.

tion or regret, deprive the colonies of, would be the natural conſequence of ſo wiſe a regulation. Far from aggravating the yoke that oppreſſes them, every kind of attention ſhould be given to make it ſit eaſy, to diſſipate even the idea of it, by favouring a natural taſte that ſeems peculiar to the negroes.

THEIR organs are extremely ſenſible of the powers of muſic. Their ear is ſo true, that in their dances, the time of a ſong makes them leap up and come down a hundred at once, ſtriking the earth at the ſame inſtant. Enchanted, as it were, with the voice of the ſinger, or the tone of a ſtringed inſtrument, a vibration of the air is the ſpirit that actuates all the bodies of theſe men: a ſound agitates, tranſports, and throws them into extaſies. In their common labours, the motion of their arms, or of their feet, is always in cadence. At all their employments they ſing, and ſeem always as if they were dancing. Muſic animates their courage, and rouzes them from their indolence. The marks of this extreme ſenſibility to harmony, are viſible in all the muſcles of their bodies, which are always naked. Poets and muſicians by nature, they make the words ſubſervient to the muſic, by a licence they arbitrarily aſſume of lengthening or ſhortening them, in order to accommodate them to an air that pleaſes them. Whenever any object or incident ſtrikes a negro, he inſtantly makes it the ſubject of a ſong. In all ages this has been the origin of poetry. Three or four words, which are alternately repeated by the ſinger and the general chorus, ſometimes conſtitute the whole poem. Five or ſix bars of muſic compoſe the whole length of the ſong. A circumſtance that appears ſingular, is, that the ſame air, though merely a continual repetition of the ſame tones, takes entire poſſeſſion of them, makes them work or dance for hours together;

together: neither they, nor even the white men, are diſguſted with that tedious uniformity which theſe repetitions might naturally occaſion. This particular attachment is owing to the warmth and expreſſion which they introduce into their ſongs. Their airs are generally double time. None of them tend to inſpire them with pride. Thoſe intended to excite tenderneſs, promote rather a kind of languor. Even thoſe which are moſt lively, carry in them a certain expreſſion of melancholy. This is the higheſt entertainment to minds of great ſenſibility.

So ſtrong an inclination for muſic might become a powerful motive of action under the direction of ſkilful hands. Feſtivals, games and rewards might on this account be eſtabliſhed among them. Theſe amuſements, conducted with judgment would prevent that ſtupidity ſo common among ſlaves, eaſe their labours, and preſerve them from that conſtant melancholy which conſumes them, and ſhortens their days. After having provided for the preſervation of the blacks exported from Africa, the welfare of thoſe who are born in the iſlands themſelves would then be conſidered.

The negroes are not averſe from the propagation of their ſpecies even in the chains of ſlavery. But it is the cruelty of their maſters which hath effectually prevented them from complying with this great end of nature. Such hard labour is required from negro women, both before and after their pregnancy, that their children are either abortive, or live but a ſhort time after delivery. Mothers, rendered deſperate by the puniſhments which the weakneſs of their condition occaſions them, ſnatch ſometimes their children from the cradle, in order to ſtrangle them in their arms, and ſacrifice them with fury mingled with a ſpirit of revenge and compaſ-

BOOK II.

ſion, that they may not become the property of their cruel maſters. This barbarity, the whole horror of which muſt be imputed to the Europeans, will, perhaps, make them ſenſible of their error. Their ſenſibility will be rouzed by paying a greater attention to their true intereſts. They will learn that they loſe more than they get, by committing ſuch outrages againſt humanity; and if they do not become the benefactors of their ſlaves, they will at leaſt ceaſe to be their executioners.

THEY will, perhaps, reſolve to ſet free thoſe mothers who ſhall have brought up a conſiderable number of children to the age of ſix years. The allurements of liberty are the moſt powerful that can influence the human heart. The negro women, animated by the hope of ſo great a bleſſing, to which all would aſpire, and few would be able to obtain, would make neglect and infamy be ſucceeded by a virtuous emulation to bring up children, whoſe number and preſervation would ſecure to them freedom and tranquillity.

AFTER having taken wiſe meaſures not to deprive their plantations of thoſe ſuccours ariſing from the extraordinary fruitfulneſs of the negro women; they will attend to the care of conducting and extending cultivation by means of population, and without foreign expedients. Every thing invites them to eſtabliſh this eaſy and natural ſyſtem.

THERE are ſome powers, whoſe ſettlements in the American iſles, every day acquire extent, and there are none whoſe manual labour does not continually increaſe. Theſe lands, therefore, conſtantly require a greater number of hands to clear them. Africa, where all Europeans go to recruit the population of their colonies, gradually furniſhes them with fewer men, and ſupplies them at the ſame time with worſe ſlaves, and at a dear-

er

er rate. This ſource for the obtaining ſlaves, will be gradually more and more exhauſted. But were this change in trade as chimerical, as it ſeems to be not far diſtant, it is nevertheleſs certain that a great number of ſlaves, drawn out of a remote region, periſh in their paſſage, or in the new world; and that when they come to America they fetch a very high price; that there are few of them whoſe term of life is not ſhortened; and that the greater part of thoſe who attain a wretched old age, are extremely ignorant, and being accuſtomed from their infancy to idleneſs, are frequently very unfit for the employments to which they are deſtined, and are in a continual ſtate of deſpondency, on account of their being ſeparated from their country. If we are not miſtaken in our opinion, cultivators born in the American iſlands themſelves, always breathing their native air, brought up without any other expence than what conſiſts in a cheap food, habituated in early life to labour by their own parents, endowed with a ſufficient ſhare of underſtanding, or a ſingular aptitude for all the uſeful arts; ſuch cultivators cannot but be preferable to ſlaves that have been ſold and live in a perpetual exile and reſtraint.

THE method of ſubſtituting in the place of foreign negroes thoſe of the colonies themſelves, is very obvious. It wholly conſiſts in ſuperintending the black children that are born in the iſlands, in confining to their workhouſes that multitude of ſlaves, who carry about with them their worthleſsneſs, their licentiouſneſs, and the luxury and inſolence of their maſter, in all the towns and ports of Europe; but above all, in requiring of navigators who frequent the African coaſts, that they ſhould form their cargo of an equal number of men and women, or even of a majority of women, during ſome

BOOK II.

years, in order to reduce that diſproportion which obtains between the two ſexes.

THIS laſt precaution, by putting the pleaſures of love within the reach of all the blacks, would contribute to their eaſe and multiplication. Theſe unhappy men, forgetting the weight of their chains, would, with tranſport, ſee themſelves live again in their children. The majority of them are faithful, even to death, to thoſe negro women whom love and ſlavery have aſſigned to them for their companions; they treat them with that compaſſion which the wretched mutually derive from one another even in the rigour of their condition; they comfort them under the load of their employments; they ſympathize, at leaſt, with them, when, through exceſs of labour, or want of food, the mother can only offer her child a breaſt that is dry, or bathed in her tears. The women, on their part, though tied down to no reſtrictions of chaſtity, are fixed in their attachments; provided that the vanity of being beloved by white people does not render them inconſtant. Unhappily this is a temptation to infidelity, to which they have too often opportunities to yield.

THOSE who have inquired into the cauſes of this taſte for black women, which appears to be ſo depraved in the Europeans, have found it to ariſe from the nature of the climate, which under the torrid zone irreſiſtibly excites men to the pleaſures of love; the facility of gratifying this inſurmountable inclination without reſtraint, and without the trouble of a long purſuit; from a certain captivating attraction of beauty, diſcoverable in black women, as ſoon as cuſtom hath once reconciled the eye to their colour; but principally from a warmth of conſtitution, which gives them the power of inſpiring and returning the moſt ardent tranſports. Thus they revenge

revenge themſelves, as it were, for the humiliating deſpondence of their condition, by the violent and immoderate paſſions which they excite in their maſters; nor do our ladies, in Europe, poſſeſs in a more exalted degree the art of waſting and running out large fortunes than the negro women. But the African women have the ſuperiority over the European, in the real paſſion they have for the men who purchaſe them. The happy diſcovery and prevention of conſpiracies that would have deſtroyed all their oppreſſors by the hands of their ſlaves, hath been often owing to the faithful attachment of theſe negro women. The double tyranny of theſe unworthy uſurpers of the eſtates and liberty of ſo many people, deſerved, doubtleſs, ſuch a puniſhment.

Slavery is entirely contrary to humanity, reaſon and juſtice.

We will not here ſo far demean ourſelves as to enlarge the ignominious liſt of thoſe writers who devote their abilities to juſtify by policy what morality condemns. In an age where ſo many errors are boldly laid open, it would be unpardonable to conceal any truth that is intereſting to humanity. If whatever we have hitherto advanced hath ſeemingly tended only to alleviate the burden of ſlavery, the reaſon is, that it was firſt neceſſary to give ſome comfort to thoſe unhappy beings, whom we cannot ſet free; and convince their oppreſſors that they are cruel to the prejudice of their real intereſts. But, in the mean time, until ſome great revolution makes the exiſtence of this great truth felt, it is proper to go on with the ſubject. We ſhall then firſt prove, that there is no reaſon of ſtate that can authoriſe ſlavery. We ſhall not be afraid to cite to the tribunal of reaſon and juſtice thoſe governments which tolerate this cruelty, or which even are not aſhamed to make it the baſis of their power.

BOOK II.

MONTESQUIEU could not reſolve with himſelf to treat ſeriouſly the queſtion concerning ſlavery. In reality it is degrading reaſon to employ it, I will not ſay in defending, but even in refuting an abuſe ſo repugnant to it. Whoever juſtifies ſo odious a ſyſtem, deſerves the utmoſt contempt from a philoſopher, and from the negro a ſtab with his dagger.

IF you touch me, ſaid Clariſſa to Lovelace, that moment I kill myſelf; and I would ſay to him, who attempted to deprive me of my liberty, if you approach me, I will ſtab you. In this caſe, I ſhould reaſon better than Clariſſa; becauſe, defending my liberty, or, which is the ſame thing, my life, is my primary duty; to regard that of another, is only a ſecondary conſideration; and if all other circumſtances were the ſame, the death of a criminal is more conformable to juſtice than that of an innocent perſon.

WILL it be ſaid, that he who wants to make me a ſlave does me no injury, but that he only makes uſe of his rights? Where are thoſe rights? Who hath ſtamped upon them ſo ſacred a character as to ſilence mine? From nature I hold the right of ſelf-defence; nature, therefore, has not given to another the right of attacking me. If thou thinkeſt thyſelf authoriſed to oppreſs me, becauſe thou art ſtronger and more ingenious than I am; do not complain if my vigorous arm ſhall plunge a dagger into thy breaſt; do not complain, when in thy tortured entrails thou ſhalt feel the pangs of death conveyed by poiſon into thy food: I am ſtronger and more ingenious than thou: fall a victim, therefore, in thy turn; and expiate the crime of having been an oppreſſor.

HE who ſupports the ſyſtem of ſlavery is the enemy of the whole human race. He divides it into two ſocieties of legal aſſaſſins; the oppreſſors and the oppreſſed.

ed. It is the ſame thing as proclaiming to the world, If you would preſerve your life, inſtantly take away mine, for I want to have yours.

But the right of ſlavery, you ſay, extends only to the right of labour and the privation of liberty, not of life. What! does not the maſter, who diſpoſes of my ſtrength at his pleaſure, likewiſe diſpoſe of my life, which depends on the voluntary and proper uſe of my faculties? What is exiſtence to him, who has not the diſpoſal of it? I cannot kill my ſlave; but I can make him bleed under the whip of an executioner; I can overwhelm him with ſorrows, drudgery and want; I can injure him every way, and ſecretly undermine the principles and ſprings of his life; I can ſmother, by ſlow puniſhments, the wretched infant, which a negro woman carries in her womb. Thus the laws protect the ſlave againſt a violent death, only to leave to my cruelty the right of making him die by degrees.

Let us proceed a ſtep further: the right of ſlavery is that of perpetrating all ſorts of crimes: thoſe crimes which invade property; for ſlaves are not ſuffered to have any even in their own perſons: thoſe crimes which deſtroy perſonal ſafety; for the ſlave may be ſacrificed to the caprice of his maſter: thoſe crimes which make modeſty ſhudder.—My blood riſes at theſe horrid images. I deteſt, I abhor the human ſpecies, made up only of victims and executioners, and if it is never to become better, may it be annihilated!

Further, that I may not conceal any part of my ſentiments on this ſubject. Cartouche, the highwayman, ſitting at the foot of a tree in a deep foreſt, calculating the profits and loſſes of his robberies, the rewards and pay of his aſſociates, and adjuſting with them the ideas of proportion and diſtributive juſtice; this Cartouche is

BOOK II.

not a very different character from that of the privateer, who, reclined on his counter, with his pen in his hand, ſettles the number of attacks which he can order to be made on the coaſts of Guinea; who deliberately examines how many firelocks each negro will coſt him, in order to ſupport the war which is to furniſh him with ſlaves; how many iron fetters to confine him aboard; how many whips to make him work: how much each drop of blood will be worth to him with which each negro will water his plantation; if the black woman will contribute more to his eſtate by the labours of her hands, or by thoſe of bearing children?—What think you of this parallel?—The highwayman attacks you, and takes your money; the trader carries off even your perſon. The one invades the rights of ſociety, the other, thoſe of nature. This certainly is the truth; and if there exiſted a religion which authoriſed, which tolerated, even by its ſilence, ſuch enormities; if, moreover, occupied by idle or factious queſtions, it did not eternally denounce vengeance againſt the authors or inſtruments of this tyranny; if it made it criminal for a ſlave to break his bonds; if it did not expell the unjuſt judge who condemns the fugitive to death; if ſuch a religion exiſted, its miniſters ought to be maſſacred under the ruins of their altars.

But theſe negroes, ſay they, are a race of men born for ſlavery; their diſpoſitions are narrow, treacherous, and wicked; they themſelves allow the ſuperiority of our underſtandings, and almoſt acknowledge the juſtice of our authority.

The minds of the negroes are contracted; becauſe ſlavery ſpoils all the ſprings of the ſoul. They are wicked; but not ſufficiently ſo with you. They are treacherous, becauſe they are under no obligation to ſpeak truth to their tyrants. They acknowledge the ſuperiority of our underſtandings; becauſe we have abuſed their ignorance:

rance: they allow the juſtice of our authority; becauſe we have abuſed their weakneſs. I might as well ſay, that the Indians are a ſpecies of men born to be cruſhed to death; becauſe there are fanatics among them, who throw themſelves under the wheels of their idol's car before the temple of Jaguernat.

But theſe negroes, it is further urged, were born ſlaves. Barbarians, will you perſuade me, that a man can be the property of a ſovereign, a ſon the property of a father, a wife the property of an huſband, a domeſtic the property of a maſter, a negro the property of a planter?

But theſe ſlaves have ſold themſelves. Could a man ever by compact, or by an oath permit another to uſe and abuſe him? If he aſſented to this compact, or confirmed it by an oath, it was in a tranſport of ignorance or folly; and he is releaſed from it the moment that he either knows himſelf, or his reaſon returns.

But they had been taken in war, What does this ſignify to you? ſuffer the conqueror to make what ill uſe he pleaſes of his own victory. Why do you make yourſelves his accomplices?

But they were criminals condemned in their country to ſlavery. Who was it that condemned them? Do you not know, that in a deſpotic ſtate there is no criminal but the deſpot.

The ſubject of a deſpotic prince is the ſame as the ſlave in a ſtate repugnant to nature. Every thing that contributes to keep a man in ſuch a ſtate, is an attempt againſt his perſon. Every power which fixes him to the tyranny of one man, is the power of his enemies: and all thoſe who are about him are the authors or abettors of this violence. His mother, who taught him the firſt leſſons of obedience; his neighbour, who ſet him the example of it; his ſuperiors, who compelled him into this ſtate; and his equals, who led him into it by

BOOK II.

by their opinion: all theſe are the miniſters and inſtruments of tyranny. The tyrant can do nothing of himſelf; he is only the firſt mover of thoſe efforts which all his ſubjects exert to their own mutual oppreſſion. He keeps them in a ſtate of perpetual war, which renders robberies, treaſons, aſſaſſinations lawful. Thus, like the blood which flows in his veins, all crimes originate from his heart, and return thither as to their primary ſource. Caligula uſed to ſay, that if the whole human race had but one head, he ſhould have taken pleaſure in cutting it off. Socrates would have ſaid, that if all crimes were heaped upon one head, that ſhould be the one which ought to be ſtruck off.

LET us, therefore, endeavour to make the light of reaſon and the ſentiments of nature take place of the blind ferocity of our anceſtors. Let us break the bonds of ſo many victims to our mercenary principles, ſhould we even be obliged to diſcard a commerce which is founded only on injuſtice, and whoſe object is luxury.

BUT even this is not neceſſary. There is no occaſion to give up thoſe conveniencies which cuſtom hath ſo much endeared to us. We may draw them from our colonies, without peopling them with ſlaves. Theſe productions may be cultivated by the hands of freemen, and then be reaped without remorſe.

THE iſlands are filled with blacks, whoſe fetters have been broken. They ſucceſsfully clear the ſmall plantations that have been given them, or which they have acquired by their induſtry. Such of theſe unhappy men, as ſhould recover their independence, would live in quiet upon the ſame manual labours, that would then be free and advantageous to them. The vaſſals of Denmark, who have lately been made free, have not abandoned their ploughs.

Is

Is it then apprehended, that the facility of acquiring ſubſiſtence without labour, on a ſoil naturally fertile, and of diſpenſing with the want of cloaths under a burning ſky, would plunge theſe men in idleneſs? Why then do not the inhabitants of Europe confine themſelves to ſuch labours as are of indiſpenſible neceſſity? Why do they exhauſt their powers in laborious employments which tend only to the tranſient gratifications of a frivolous imagination? There are amongſt us a thouſand profeſſions, ſome more laborious than others, which owe their origin to our inſtitutions. Human laws have given riſe to a variety of factitious wants, which otherwiſe would never have had an exiſtence. By diſpoſing of every ſpecies of property according to their capricious inſtitutions, they have ſubjected an infinite number of people to the imperious will of their fellow-creatures, ſo far as even to make them ſing and dance for a living. We have amongſt us beings, formed like ourſelves, who have conſented to inter themſelves under mountains, to furniſh us with metals and with copper, perhaps to poiſon us: why do we imagine that the negroes are leſs dupes and leſs fooliſh than the Europeans?

At the time that we gradually confer liberty on theſe unhappy beings as a reward for their oeconomy, their good behaviour, and their induſtry, we muſt be careful to ſubject them to our laws and manners, and to offer them our ſuperfluities. We muſt give to them a country, give them intereſts to ſtudy, productions to cultivate, and an object adequate to their reſpective taſtes, and our colonies will never want hands, which being eaſed of their chains, will be more active and robuſt.

In order to overturn the whole ſyſtem of ſlavery, which is ſupported by paſſions ſo univerſal, by laws ſo authentic, by the emulation of ſuch powerful nations, by

BOOK II.

by prejudices ſtill more powerful, to what tribunal ſhall we refer the cauſe of humanity, which ſo many men are in confederacy to betray? Sovereigns of the earth! you alone can bring about this revolution. If you do not ſport with the reſt of mortals, if you do not regard the power of kings as the right of a ſucceſsful plunder, and the obedience of ſubjects as artfully obtained from their ignorance, reflect on your own obligations. Refuſe the ſanction of your authority to the infamous and criminal traffic of men turned into ſo many herds of cattle, and this trade will ceaſe. For once unite for the happineſs of the world, thoſe powers and deſigns which have been ſo often exerted for its ruin. If ſome one amongſt you would venture to found the expectation of his opulence and grandeur on the generoſity of all the reſt, he inſtantly becomes an enemy of mankind, who ought to be deſtroyed. You may carry fire and ſword into his territories. Your armies will ſoon be inſpired with the ſacred enthuſiaſm of humanity. You will then perceive what difference virtue makes between men who ſuccour the oppreſſed, and mercenaries who ſerve tyrants.

But what am I ſaying? Let the ineffectual calls of humanity be no longer pleaded with the people and their maſters: perhaps, they have never been conſulted in any public tranſactions. If then, ye nations of Europe, intereſt alone can exert its influence over you, liſten to me once more: Your ſlaves ſtand in no need either of your generoſity or your counſels, in order to break the ſacrilegious yoke of their oppreſſion. Nature ſpeaks a more powerful language than philoſophy, or intereſt. Some white people, already maſſacred have expiated a part of our crimes; already have two colonies of fugitive negroes been eſtabliſhed, to whom treaties and power give a perfect ſecurity from your attempts.

tempts. Poiſon hath at different times been the inſtrument of their vengeance. Several have eluded your oppreſſion by a voluntary death. Theſe enterprizes are ſo many indications of the impending ſtorm; and the negroes only want a chief, ſufficiently courageous, to lead them to vengeance and ſlaughter.

WHERE is this great man to be found, whom nature, perhaps, owes to the honour of the human ſpecies? Where is this new Spartacus, who will not find a Craſſus? Then will the *black code* be no more; and the *white code* will be dreadful, if the conqueror only regards the right of repriſals.

TILL this revolution takes places, the negroes groan under the yoke of oppreſſion, the deſcription of which cannot but intereſt us more and more in their deſtiny.

THE ſoil of the American iſlands hath little reſemblance to ours. Its productions are very different, as well as the manner of cultivating them. Except ſome potherbs, nothing is ſown there; every thing is planted. Labours of ſlaves.

TOBACCO being the firſt production that was cultivated, as its roots do not ſtrike deep, and the leaſt injury deſtroys them, a ſimple harrow was only employed to prepare the lands which were to receive it, and to extirpate the noxious weeds which would have choked it. This cuſtom ſtill prevails.

WHEN more troubleſome cultures began to be attended to, which were more delicate, the hoe was made uſe of to work and to weed; but it is not employed over the whole extent of ground that was to be cultivated. It was thought ſufficient to dig a hole for the reception of the plant.

THE inequality of the ground, moſt commonly full of hillocks, probably gave riſe to this cuſtom. It might be apprehended, that the rains, which always fall in torrents, ſhould deſtroy, by the cavities they make, the land

BOOK II.

land that had been turned up. Indolence, and the want of means at the time of the firſt ſettlements extended this practice to the moſt level plains, and cuſtom gave a ſanction to it; which no one ever thought of deviating from. At laſt ſome planters, who were adventurous enough to diſcard former prejudices, thought of uſing the plough, and it is probable, that this method will become general wherever it ſhall be found practicable. It has every circumſtance in its favour that can make it deſirable.

ALL the lands of the iſlands were virgin lands, when the Europeans undertook to clear them. The firſt that were occupied, have for a long time yielded leſs produce than they did in the beginning. Thoſe which have been ſucceſſively cleared, are likewiſe more or leſs exhauſted, in proportion to the period of this firſt cultivation. Whatever their fertility at firſt might have been, they all loſe it in proceſs of time, and they will ſoon ceaſe to requite the labours of thoſe who cultivate them, if art is not exerted to aſſiſt nature.

IT is a principle of agriculture generally admitted by naturaliſts, that the earth becomes fertile only in proportion as it can receive the influence of the air, and of all thoſe meteors which are directed by this powerful agent, ſuch as fogs, dews, and rains. Continual labour can only procure this advantage to it: the iſlands in particular conſtantly require it. The wet ſeaſon muſt be choſen for turning up the ground, the dryneſs of which would be an impediment to fertility. Ploughing cannot be attended with any inconvenience in lands that are level. One might prevent the danger of having ſhelving grounds deſtroyed by ſtorms, by making furrows tranſverſely on a line, that ſhould croſs that of the ſlope of the hillocks. If the declivity were ſo ſteep that the cultivated grounds could be carried away, notwithſtanding

withſtanding the furrows, ſmall drains, ſomething deeper, might be added, for the ſame purpoſe, at particular diſtances, which would partly break the force and velocity that the ſteepneſs of the hills adds to the fall of heavy rains.

THE utility of the plough would not be merely limited to the producing a greater portion of the vegetable juice in plants; it would make their produce the more certain. The iſlands are the region of inſects: their multiplication there is favoured by a conſtant heat, and one race ſucceeds another without interruption. The extenſive ravages they make are well known. Frequent and ſucceſſive ploughing would check the progreſs of this devouring race, diſturb their reproduction, would kill great numbers of them, and deſtroy the greateſt part of their eggs. Perhaps this expedient would not be ſufficient againſt the rats which ſhips have brought from Europe into America, where they have increaſed to that degree, that they often deſtroy one third of the crops. The induſtry of ſlaves might alſo be made uſe of, and their vigilance might be encouraged by ſome gratification.

THE uſe of the plough would probably introduce the cuſtom of manuring; it is already known in the greateſt part of the coaſt. The manure there in uſe is called varech, a kind of ſea plant, which when ripe, is detached from the water, and driven on the ſtrand by the motion of the waves: it is very productive of fertility, but if employed without previous preparation, it communicates to the ſugar a diſagreeable bitterneſs, which muſt ariſe from the ſalts that are impregnated with oily particles abounding in ſea plants. Perhaps, in order to take off this bitter taſte, it would only be neceſſary to burn the plant and make uſe of the aſhes. The ſalts being by this operation detached from the oily particles, and

BOOK II.

and triturated by vegetation, would circulate more freely in the ſugar-cane, and impart to it purer juices.

THE interior parts of this country have not till lately been dunged. Neceſſity will make this practice become more general; and in time the ſoil of America will be aſſiſted by the ſame methods of cultivation as the ſoil of Europe; but with more difficulty. In the iſlands where herds of cattle are not ſo numerous, and where there is ſeldom the convenience of ſtables, it is neceſſary to have recourſe to other kinds of manure, and multiply them as much as poſſible, in order to compenſate the quality by the quantity. The greateſt reſource will always be found in the weeds, from which uſeful plants muſt be conſtantly freed. Theſe muſt be collected together in heaps, and left to putrify. The coloniſts who cultivate coffee, have ſet the example of this practice; but with that degree of indolence which the heat of the climate occaſions in all manual labour. A pile of weeds is heaped up at the bottom of the coffee trees, without regarding whether theſe weeds, which they do not even take the trouble of covering with earth, heat the tree, and harbour the inſects that prey upon it. They have been equally negligent in the management of their cattle.

ALL the domeſtic quadrupeds of Europe were imported into America by the Spaniards; and it is from their ſettlements that the colonies of other nations have been ſupplied. Excepting hogs, which are found to thrive beſt in countries abounding with aquatic productions, inſects and reptiles, and are become larger and better taſted, all theſe animals have degenerated, and the few that remain in the iſlands are very ſmall. Though the badneſs of the climate may contribute ſomething to this degeneracy, the want of care is, perhaps, the principal cauſe.

They

They always lie in the open field. They never have either bran or oats given them, and are at graſs the whole year. The coloniſts have not even the attention of dividing the meadows into ſeparate portions, in order to make their cattle paſs from one into the other. They always feed on the ſame ſpot, without allowing the graſs time to ſpring up again. Such paſtures can only produce weak and watery juices. Too quick a vegetation prevents them from being properly ripened. Hence the animals, deſtined for the food of man, afford only fleſh that is tough and flabby.

THOSE animals, which are reſerved for labour, do but very little ſervice. The oxen draw but light loads, and that not all day long. They are always four in number. They are not yoked by the head, but by the neck, after the Spaniſh cuſtom. They are not ſtimulated by the goad, but driven by a whip; and are directed by two drivers.

WHEN the roads do not allow the uſe of carriages, mules are uſed inſtead of oxen. Theſe are ſaddled after a ſimpler method than in Europe, but much inferior to it in ſtrength. A mat is fixed on their back, to which two hooks are ſuſpended on each ſide, the firſt that are caſually met with in the woods. Thus equipped, they carry, at moſt, half of what others carry, and do not go over half the ground.

THE pace of their horſes is not ſo ſlow: they have preſerved ſomething of the fleetneſs, fire, and docility of thoſe of Andaluſia, from which they derived their pedigree, but their ſtrength is not anſwerable to their ſpirit. It is neceſſary to breed a great number of them, in order to obtain that ſervice from them which might be had from a ſmaller number in Europe. Three or four of them muſt be harneſſed to very light carriages uſed by indolent people for making excurſions,

BOOK IV. which they call journies, but which with us would only be an airing.

THE degeneracy of the animals in the iſlands might have been prevented, retarded, or diminiſhed, if care had been taken to renew them by a foreign race. Stallions brought from colder or warmer countries, would in ſome degree have corrected the influence of the climate, feed, and rearing. With the mares of the country they would have produced a new race far ſuperior, as they would have come from a climate different from that into which they were imported.

IT is very extraordinary, that ſo ſimple an idea ſhould never have occured to any of the planters; and that there has been no legiſlature attentive enough to its intereſts to ſubſtitute in its ſettlements the biſon to the common ox. Every body that is acquainted with this animal, muſt recollect that the biſon has a ſofter and brighter ſkin, a diſpoſition leſs dull and ſtupid than our bullock, and a quickneſs and docility far ſuperior. It is ſwift in running, and when mounted can ſupply the place of a horſe. It thrives as well in ſouthern countries, as the ox that we employ loves the cold or temperate zones. This ſpecies is only known in the eaſtern iſlands, and in the greater part of Africa. If cuſtom had leſs influence than it commonly has, even over the wiſeſt governments, they would have been ſenſible, that this uſeful animal was ſingularly well adapted to the great Archipelago of America, and that it would be very eaſy to export it at a very ſmall expence from the Gold Coaſt, or the coaſt of Angola.

TWO rich planters, one in Barbadoes, the other in St. Domingo, equally ſtruck with the weakneſs of thoſe animals, which, according to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom, were employed in drawing and carrying, endeavoured to ſubſtitute the camel to them. This experiment, formerly

merly tried without ſucceſs in Peru by the Spaniards, did not ſucced better here, nor was it poſſible it ſhould. It is well known, that though a native of hot countries, it dreads exceſſive heat, and can as little thrive as propagate under the burning ſky of the torrid zone, as in the temperate ones. It would have been better to have tried the buffalo.

THE buffalo is a very dirty animal, and of a fierce diſpoſition. Its caprices are ſudden and frequent. Its ſkin is firm, light, and almoſt impenetrable, and its horn ſerviceable for many purpoſes. Its fleſh is black and hard, and diſagreeable to the taſte and ſmell. The milk of the female is not ſo ſweet, but much more copious than that of the cow. Reared like the ox, with which it has a ſtriking reſemblance, it greatly ſurpaſſes it in ſtrength and ſwifneſs. Two buffaloes, yoked to a waggon by means of a ring paſſed through their noſe, will draw as much as four of the ſtouteſt bullocks, and in leſs than half the time. They owe this double ſuperiority to the advantage of having longer legs, and a more conſiderable bulk of body, the whole power of which is employed in drawing, becauſe they naturally carry their neck and head low. As this animal is originally a native of the torrid zone, and is larger, ſtronger, and more manageable in proportion to the heat of the country it is in, it cannot ever have been doubted that it would be of great ſervice in the Caribbees and propagate happily there. This is highly probable, eſpecially ſince the ſucceſsful experiments that have been made of it at Guiana.

INDOLENCE, and old eſtabliſhed cuſtoms, which have hindered the propagation of domeſtic animals, have no leſs impeded the ſucceſs of tranſplanting vegetables. Several kinds of fruit-trees have been ſucceſſively carried to the iſlands. Thoſe that have not died,

BOOK II.

are ſome wild ſtocks, whoſe fruit is neither beautiful nor good. The greateſt part have degenerated very faſt, becauſe they have been expoſed to a very ſtrong vegetation, ever lively, and conſtantly quickened by the copious dews of the night, and the ſtrong heats of the day, which are two grand principles of fertility. Perhaps, an intelligent obſerver would have know how to profit from theſe circumſtances, and have been able to raiſe tolerable fruit; but ſuch men are not found in the colonies. If our kitchen herbs have ſucceeded better; if they are always ſpringing again, always green, and mature; the reaſon is, that they have not to ſtruggle againſt the climate, where they experience a moiſt and clammy earth, which is proper for them; and becauſe they required no trouble. The labour of the ſlaves is employed in the cultivation of more uſeful productions.

THE principle labours of theſe unhappy men, are directed towards thoſe objects that are indiſpenſible to the preſervation of their wretched exiſtence. Except in the iſlands that are occupied by the Spaniards, where things are very nearly in the ſame ſtate as they were at the arrival of the Europeans in the new world, thoſe productions, which were ſufficient for the ſavages, have diminiſhed in proportion as they have deſtroyed the foreſts, in order to form plantations. It was neceſſary to procure other ſubſiſtences, and the principal which ought to have been ſought for have been drawn from the country itſelf of the new comers.

AFRICA has furniſhed the iſlands with a ſhrub, which grows to the height of four feet, lives four years and is uſeful throughout its whole duration. It bears huſks which contain five or ſix grains of a ſpecies of a very wholeſome and very nouriſhing pea. Every part belonging to this ſhrub is remarkable for ſome particular virtue. Its bloſſom is good for a cough; its leaves when

when boiled are applied to wounds, and of the aſhes of this plant is made a lixivium, which cleanſes ulcers and diſſipates the external inflammations of the ſkin. This ſhrub is called the Angola pea. It flouriſhes equally inlands naturally barren, and in thoſe whoſe ſalts have been exhauſted. For this reaſon, the beſt managers amongſt the coloniſts never fail to ſow it on all thoſe parts of their eſtates, which in other hands would remain uncultivated.

THE moſt valuable preſent, however, which the iſlands have received from Africa, is the manioc. Moſt hiſtorians have conſidered this plant as a native of America. It does not appear on what foundation this opinion is ſupported, though pretty generally received. But were the truth of it demonſtrated, the Caribbees would yet ſtand indebted for the manioc to the Europeans, who imported it thither along with the Africans, who fed upon it. Before our invaſions, the intercourſe between the continent of America and theſe iſles, was ſo trifling, that a production of the Terra Firma might be unknown in the Archipelago of the Antilles. It is certain, however, that the ſavages who offered our firſt navigators bananas, yams, and potatoes, offered them no manioc; that the Caribbees, in the center between Dominica and St. Vincent, had it from us; that the character of the ſavages did not render them fit to conduct ſo nice a culture; that it requires very open fields, and in the foreſts, with which theſe iſlands were overgrown, there were no clear and unincumbered ſpaces of ground above five and twenty toiſes ſquare. In ſhort, it is beyond a doubt, that the uſe of the manioc was not known till after the arrival of the negroes, and that from time immemorial it hath conſtituted the principal food of a great part of Africa.

HOWEVER this may be, the manioc is a plant which is propagated by ſlips. It is ſet in furrows that are five

BOOK II.

or six inches deep, which are filled with the same earth that has been digged out. These furrows are at the distance of two feet, or two feet and a half from each other, according to the nature of the ground. The shrub rises a little above six feet, and its trunk is about the thickness of the arm. In proportion as it grows, the lower leaves fall off, and only a few remain towards the top; its wood it tender and brittle.

This is a delicate plant; whose cultivation is troublesome; and the vicinity of all sorts of grass is prejudicial to it. It requires a dry and light soil; its fruit is at its root, and if this root is shaken by the motion the wind occasions to the body of the plant, the fruit is formed but imperfectly. It takes eighteen months before it grows to maturity.

It is not rendered fit for human food till after it has undergone a tedious preparation. Its first skin must be scraped; it must be washed, rasped, and pressed, to extract the aqueous parts, which are a slow poison, against which there is no remedy known. The preparation causes every noxious particle it might still contain, totally to evaporate. When there appears no more steam, it is taken off the iron plate, on which it was prepared, and suffered to cool. Repeated experiments have shewn, that it was almost as dangerous to eat it hot as to eat it raw.

The root of the manioc grated, and reduced into little grains by boiling, is called flour of manioc. The paste of manioc is called cassava, which hath been converted into a cake by boiling it without stirring. It would be dangerous to eat as much cassava as flour of manioc, because the former is less boiled. Both keep a long time, and are very nourishing, but a little difficult of digestion. Though they seem at first insipid, there are

are a great number of white people, who have been born in theſe iſlands, who prefer them to the beſt wheat. All the Spaniards in general, uſe it conſtantly. The French feed their ſlaves with it. The other European nations, who have ſettlements in the iſlands, are little acquainted with the maniоc. It is from North America that theſe colonies receive their ſubſiſtence; ſo that if by any accident, which may very poſſibly take place, their connections with this fertile country were interrupted but for four months, they would be ſtarved. An avidity that had no bounds, makes the inſular coloniſts inſenſible of this imminent danger. All, at leaſt the greater part, find their advantage in turning the whole induſtry of their ſlaves towards thoſe productions which are the objects of commerce. The principal of theſe are, cocoa, rocou, cotton, indigo, and coffee. We ſhall elſewhere ſpeak of their cultivation, value, and deſtination. We ſhall at preſent conſider only the cultivation of ſugar, whoſe produce alone is more important than that of all the other commodities.

THE cane that yields the ſugar, is a kind of reed, which commonly riſes eight or nine feet, taking in the leaves growing out of the top of it. Its moſt ordinary thickneſs is from two to four inches. It is covered with a hardiſh rind, which incloſes a ſpungy ſubſtance. It is interſected at intervals with joints, that ſerve as it were to ſtrengthen and ſupport it; but without impeding the circulation of the ſap, becauſe theſe joints are ſoft and pithy in the inſide.

THIS plant hath been cultivated from the earlieſt antiquity in ſome countries of Aſia and Africa. About the middle of the twelfth century, it became known in Sicily, from whence it paſſed into the ſouthern provinces of Spain. It was afterwards tranſplanted into Madei-

ra and the Canaries. From theſe iſlands its was brought into the new world, where it throve as happily as if it had been an original native of it.

ALL ſoils are not equally proper for it. Such as are rich and ſtrong, low and marſhy, environed with woods, or lately cleared, however large and tall the canes may be, produce only a juice that is aqueous, inſipid, of a bad quality, difficult to be boiled, purified, and preſerved. Canes planted in a ground where they ſoon meet with ſoft ſtone or rock, have but a very ſhort duration, and yield but little ſugar. A light, porus, and deep ſoil, is by nature moſt favourable to this production.

THE general method of cultivating it, is to prepare a large field; to make at the diſtance of three feet from one another, furrows eighteen inches long, twelve broad, and ſix deep; to lay in theſe, two, and ſometimes three, ſlips of about a foot each, taken from the upper part of the cane, and to cover them lightly with earth. From each of the joints in the ſlips iſſues a ſtem, which in time becomes a ſugar-cane.

CARE ſhould be taken to clear it conſtantly from the weeds, which never fail to grow around it. This labour only continues for ſix months. The canes then are ſufficiently thick and near one another to deſtroy every thing that might be prejudicial to their fertility. They are commonly ſuffered to grow eighteen months, and are ſeldom cut at any other time.

FROM the ſtock of theſe iſſue ſuckers, which are in their turn cut fifteen months after. This ſecond cutting yields only half of the produce of the firſt. The planters ſometimes make a third cutting, and even a fourth, which are always ſucceſſively leſs, however good the ſoil may be. Nothing, therefore, but want of hands

hands for planting afreſh can oblige a planter to expect more than two crops from his cane.

THESE crops are not made in all the colonies at the ſame time. In the Daniſh, Spaniſh and Dutch ſettlements, they begin in January and continue till October. This method does not imply any fixed ſeaſon for the maturity of the ſugar cane. This plant, however, like others, muſt have its progreſs; and it has been juſtly obſerved to be in flower in the months of November and December. It muſt neceſſarily follow, from the cuſtom theſe nations have adopted of continuing to gather their crops fourteen months without intermiſſion, that they cut ſome canes which are not ripe enough, and others that are too ripe, and then the fruit has not the requiſite qualities. This harveſt ſhould have a fixed ſeaſon, and probably the months of March and April are the fitteſt for it: nor do they prefer this time becauſe they are then riper; but the drought which prevails in their iſlands renders the rains which fall in September neceſſary to their planting; and as the canes are eighteen months in growing, this period always brings them to the preciſe point of maturity.

IN order to extract the juice of the cut canes, which ought be done in four and twenty hours, otherwiſe it would turn ſour, they paſs them between two cylinders of iron, or copper, placed perpendicularly on an immoveable table. The motion of the cylinders is regulated by an horizontal wheel turned by oxen, or horſes; but in water-mills this horizontal wheel derives its movement from a perpendicular one, whoſe circumference meeting a current of water, receives an impreſſion which turns it upon its axis: this motion is from right to left, if the current of water ſtrikes the upper part

BOOK II.

part of the wheel; from left to right, if the current ſtrikes the lower part.

FROM the reſervoir, where the juice of the cane is received, it falls into a boiler where thoſe particles of water are made to evaporate that are moſt eaſily ſeparated. This liquor is poured into another boiler, where a moderate fire makes it throw up its firſt ſcum. When it hath loſt its clammy conſiſtence it is made to run into a third boiler, where it throws up much more ſcum by means of an increaſed degree of heat. It then receives the laſt boiling in a fourth cauldron whoſe fire is three times ſtronger than the firſt.

THIS laſt fire decides the fate of the proceſs. If it hath been well managed the ſugar forms cryſtals that are larger or ſmaller, more or leſs bright in proportion to the greater or leſs quantity of oil they abound with. If the fire hath been too violent the ſubſtance is reduced to a black and charcoal extract which cannot produce any more eſſential ſalt. If the fire hath been too moderate, there remains a conſiderable quantity of extraneous oils, which diſtinguiſh the ſugar, and render it thick and blackiſh; ſo that when it is to be dried, it becomes always porous, becauſe the ſpaces which theſe oils filled up remain empty.

As ſoon as the ſugar is cool it is poured into earthern veſſels of a conic figure, the baſe of the cone is open, its top has a hole, through which the water is poured that has not formed any cryſtals. This is called the ſyrup. After this water hath flowed through, the raw ſugar remains, which is rich, brown and ſalt.

THE greateſt part of the iſlands leave to Europe the care of giving ſugar the other preparations which are neceſſary to make it fit for uſe. This practice ſpares the expence of large buildings, leaves them more blacks to employ in agriculture, allows them to make their cultures

cultures without any interruption for two or three months together, and employs a greater number of ſhips for exportation. BOOK II.

THE French planters alone have thought it their intereſt to manage their ſugars in a different manner. To whatever degree of exactneſs the juice of the ſugar-cane may be boiled, there always remains an infinite number of foreign particles to the ſalts of the ſugar, to which they appear to be what lees are to wine. Theſe give it a dead colour, and the taſte of tartar, of which they endeavour to deprive it, by an operation called earthing. This conſiſts in putting again the raw ſugars into a new earthen veſſel, in every reſpect ſimilar to that we have mentioned. The ſurface of the ſugar, throughout the whole extent of the baſis of the cone, is then covered with a white marl on which they pour water. In filtering it through this marl, the water carries with it a portion of a calcareous earth, which it finds upon the different ſaline particles, when this earth meets with oily ſubſtances to which it is united. This water is afterwards drained off through the opening at the top of the mould, and a ſecond ſyrup is procured, which they call melaſſes, and which is ſo much the worſe, in proportion as the ſugar was finer; that is, contained leſs extraneous oil: for then the calcareous earth, diſſolved by the water, paſſes alone, and carries with it all its acrimony.

THIS earthing is followed by the laſt preparation, which is effected by fire, and ſerves for the evaporating of the moiſture with which the ſalts are impregnated, during the proceſs of earthing. In order to obtain this, they take out the ſugar in its whole form out of the conical veſſel of the earth, convey it into a ſtove which receives from an iron furnace a gentle and gradual heat; where it is left till the ſugar is become very dry, which

BOOK II.

which commonly happens at the end of two or three weeks.

THOUGH the expence which this proceſs requires, is in general thrown away, ſince the earthed ſugar is commonly refined in Europe in the ſame manner as the raw ſugar; all the inhabitants of the French iſlands, however, who are able to purify their ſugars in this manner, generally take this trouble. To a nation whoſe marine is weak; this method is extremely advantageous, as it enables them, in times of war, to convey into their own metropolis the moſt valuable cargoes with a leſs number of ſhips than if they prepared only raw ſugars.

ONE may judge from theſe ſpecies of ſugars, but much better from that, which has undergone the earthing, of what ſort of ſalts it is compoſed. If the ſoil, where the cane hath been planted, is hard, ſtony, and ſloping, the ſalts will be white, angular, and the grain very large. If the ſoil is marly, the colour will be the ſame; but the granulations, being cut on fewer ſides, will reflect leſs light. If the ſoil is rich and ſpungy, the granulations will be nearly ſpherical, the colour will be duſky, the ſugar will ſlip under the finger, without any unequal feel. This laſt ſugar is conſidered as the worſt.

WHATEVER may be the reaſon, thoſe places that have a northern aſpect produce the beſt ſugar; and marly grounds yield the greateſt quantity. The preparations which the ſugar that grows in theſe kinds of ſoil require, are leſs tedious and troubleſome than thoſe which the ſugar requires that is produced in a rich land. But theſe obſervations admit of infinite variety, whoſe inveſtigation is properly the province of chymiſts or ſpeculative planters.

BESIDES ſugar, the cane furniſhes ſyrup, whoſe value is only a twelfth of that of the price of ſugars. The beſt ſyrup is that which runs from the firſt veſſel into the ſecond, when the raw ſugar is made. It is compoſed of the groſſer particles which carry along with them the ſalts of ſugar, whether it contains or ſeparates them in its paſſage. The ſyrup of an inferior kind, which is more bitter, and leſs in quantity, is formed by the water which carries off the tartareous and earthy particles of the ſugar when it is waſhed. By means of fire, ſome ſugar is beſides extracted from the firſt ſyrup, which, after this operation, is of leſs value than the ſecond.

BOTH theſe kinds are carried into the North of Europe, where the people uſe them inſtead of butter and ſugar. In North America they make the ſame uſe of them, where they are further employed to give fermentation, and an agreeable taſte to a liquor called *Pruſt*, which is only an infuſion of the bark of a tree.

THIS ſyrup is ſtill more uſeful, by the ſecret that has been diſcovered of converting it by diſtillation, into a ſpirituous liquor which the Engliſh call *Rum*, and the French *Taffia*. This proceſs, which is very ſimple, is made by mixing a third part of ſyrup with two-thirds of water. When theſe two ſubſtances have ſufficiently fermented, which commonly happens at the end of twelve or fifteen days, they are put into a clean ſtill, where the diſtillation is made as uſual. The liquor that is drawn off is equal to the quantity of the ſyrup employed.

SUCH is the method which, after many experiments, and variations, all the iſlands have generally purſued in the cultivation of ſugar. It is undoubtedly a good one; but, perhaps, it hath not acquired that degree of perfection of which it is capable. One may be allowed to conjecture, that if inſtead of planting canes in large fields,

BOOK II.

fields, they parcelled out the ground into divisions of sixty feet, leaving between two planted divisions a space of land uncultivated, such a method would be attended with great advantages. In the modern practice, none but the canes on the borders are of a fine growth, and attain to a proper degree of maturity. Those in the middle of the field in part miscarry, and ripen badly, because they are deprived of a current of air, which only acts by its weight, and seldom gets to the foot of these canes that are always covered with the leaves.

In this new system of plantation, those portions of land which had not been cultivated would be most favourable for reproduction; when the crops of the planted divisions had been made, which in their turn would be left to recover. It is probable, that by this method as much sugar might be obtained as by the present practice; with this additional advantage, that it would require fewer slaves to improve it. One may judge what the cultivation of sugar would then produce, by what it now yields notwithstanding its imperfections.

On a plantation fixed on a good ground, and sufficiently stocked with blacks, with cattle, and all other necessaries, two men will cultivate a square of canes, that is, an hundred geometrical paces. This square must yield on an average sixty quintals of raw sugar. The common price of a quintal in Europe will be twenty livres, (17*s.* 6*d.*) after deducting all the expences. This makes an income of 600 livres, (26*l.* 5*s.*) for the labour of each man. One hundred and fifty livres, (6*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.*) to which the price of syrup and rum must be added, will defray the expences of cultivation, that is to say, for the maintenance of slaves, for their loss, their disorders, their clothes, and repairing their utensils, and other accidents. The net produce of an acre and half of land will then be four hundred

and

and fifty. (19*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.*) It would be difficult to find a culture productive of greater emoluments.

It may be objected, that this is stating the produce below its real value, because a square of canes does not employ two men. But those who would advance this objection ought to observe, that the making of sugar requires other labours than those of merely cultivating it, and consequently workmen employed elsewhere than in the fields. The estimate and compensation of these different kinds of service, oblige us to deduct from the produce of a square of plantation, the expence of maintaining two men.

It is principally with their sugar that the islands furnish their planters with all the articles of convenience and luxury. They draw from Europe flour, liquors, salt, provisions, silks, linen, hardware; and every thing that is required for apparel, food, furniture, ornament, conveniencies and even their luxuries. Their consumptions of every kind are prodigious, and must necessarily influence the manners of the inhabitants, the greatest part of whom are rich and can well afford them.

Character of the Europeans settled in the Indies.

It should seem that the Europeans, who have been transplanted from America, must no less have degenerated than the animals which they carried over thither. The climate acts on all living beings; but men being less immediately subject to the laws of nature, resist her influence the more, because they are the only beings, who act for themselves. The first colonies, who settled in the Antilles, corrected the activity of a new sky, and a new soil, by the conveniences which it was in their power to derive from a commerce that was always open with their former country. They learnt to lodge and maintain themselves in a manner the best adapted to the change of situation. They retained the customs of their education, and every thing that could agree with the natural

BOOK II.

natural laws of the air they breathed. With theſe they carried into America the food and uſages of Europe, and familiariſed to each other, beings and productions which nature had ſeparated by an interval of the ſame extent as a Zone. But of all their primitive cuſtoms, the moſt ſalutary, perhaps, was that of mingling and dividing the two races by intermarriages.

All nations, even the leaſt civilized, have proſcribed an union of ſexes between the children of the ſame family; whether it was, that experience or prejudice dictated this law, or chance naturally led them to it. Beings brought up together in infancy, accuſtomed to ſee one another continually, in this mutual familiarity, rather contract that indifference which ariſes from habit, than that lively and impetuous ſenſation of ſympathy, which ſuddenly affects two beings, who never ſaw one another. If in the ſavage life hunger diſunites families, love undoubtedly muſt have reunited them. The hiſtory, whether true or fabulous, of the rape of the Sabine women, proves that marriage was the firſt alliance of nations. Thus the blood will be more intermixed by the caſual meetings occaſioned by a wandering life, than by the conventions and agreements of ſettled communities. The natural advantage of croſſing the breed among men as well as animals, in order to preſerve the ſpecies from degenerating, is the reſult of ſlow experience, and is poſterior to the acknowledged utility of uniting families, in order to cement the peace of ſociety. Tyrants very early underſtood how far it was proper for them to ſeparate, or connect their ſubjects, in order to keep them in a ſtate of dependence. They formed men into ſeparate ranks by their prejudices: becauſe this line of diviſion between them became a bond of ſubmiſſion to the ſovereign, who ballanced them together by their mutual hatred and oppoſition.

poſition. They connected families to each other in every ſtation, becauſe this union totally extinguiſhed every ſpark of diſſenſion repugnant to the ſpirit of civil ſociety. Thus the intermixture of pedigrees and families by marriage, has been rather the reſult of political inſtitutions, than formed upon the views of nature.

But whatever be the natural principle and moral tendency of this cuſtom, it was obſerved by the Europeans, who were willing to multiply in the iſlands. The greateſt part of them married either in their own country, before they removed into the new world, or with thoſe who landed there. The European married a Creole, or the Creole an European, whom chance or family connections brought into America. From this happy aſſociation hath been formed a peculiar character, which in the two worlds diſtinguiſhes the man born under the ſky of the new, but from parents that are the iſſue of both. The marks of this character will be pointed out with ſo much the more certainty, as they are drawn from the writings of an accurate obſerver, from whom we have already drawn ſome particulars reſpecting natural hiſtory.

The Creoles are in general well made. One can hardly ſee a ſingle perſon afflicted with thoſe deformities which are ſo common in other climates. They have all an extreme ſuppleneſs in their limbs; whether it is to be attributed to a particular organization adapted to hot countries, or to the cuſtom of their being reared without the confinement of ſwaddling cloaths, and ſtays, or to the exerciſe they are habituated to from their infancy. Their complexion, however, never has that air of vivacity and freſhneſs which contributes more to beauty than regular features do. As to their colour, when they are in health, it reſembles that of perſons juſt recovering from a fit of illneſs; but this livid com-

BOOK II.

plexion, more or leſs dark, is nearly that of our ſouthern people.

THEIR intrepidity in war has been ſignalized by a ſeries of bold actions. There would be no better ſoldiers, if they were more capable of being diſciplined.

HISTORY does not afford any of thoſe inſtances of cowardice, treachery and meanneſs among them, which ſully the annals of all nations. It can hardly be alledged, that a Creole ever did a mean action.

ALL ſtrangers, without exception, find in the iſlands, the moſt friendly and generous hoſpitality. This uſeful virtue is practiſed with an oſtentation, which ſhews, at leaſt, the honour they attach to it. Their natural propenſity to beneficence baniſhes avarice; and the Creoles are generous in their dealings.

THEY are ſtrangers to diſſimulation, craft and ſuſpicion. The pride they take in their frankneſs, the opinion they have of themſelves, together with their extreme vivacity, exclude from their commercial tranſactions all that myſtery and reſerve, which ſtifles natural goodneſs of diſpoſition, extinguiſhes the ſocial ſpirit, and blunts our ſenſibility.

A WARM imagination, incapable of any reſtraint, renders them independent and inconſtant in their taſte. It conſtantly hurries them with freſh ardour into pleaſures, to which they ſacrifice both their fortune and their whole exiſtence.

A remarkable degree of penetration, a quick facility in ſeizing all ideas, and expreſſing themſelves with vivacity. The power of combining added to the talent of obſervation, a happy mixture of all the qualities of mind and character, which render men capable of the greateſt actions, will make them attempt every thing, when oppreſſion compels them to it.

THE

THE ſharp and ſaline air of the Caribbees deprives the women of that lively colour which is the beauty of their ſex. But they have a delicate white complexion, which allows the eyes all their power, and conveys into the ſoul ſuch deep impreſſions as are irreſiſtible. As they are extremely ſober, they drink nothing but chocolate, coffee and ſuch ſpirituous liquors as reſtore to the organs their tone and vigour enervated by the climate; while the men are continually drinking in proportion to the heat that exhauſts them.

THEY are very prolific, and often mothers of ten or twelve children. This propagation proceeds from love which ſtrongly attaches them to the man they poſſeſs; but which alſo throws them inſtantly into the arms of another, whenever death has diſſolved the union of a firſt or ſecond marriage.

JEALOUS even to diſtraction, they are ſeldom unfaithful. That indolence, which makes them neglect the means of pleaſing, the degrading taſte which the men have for negro women, their manner of life, private or public, which precludes the opportunities or temptations to gallantry; theſe are the beſt ſupports of the virtue of theſe females.

THE ſolitary manner in which they live in their houſes gives them an air of timidity, which embarraſſes them in their intercourſe with the world. They loſe, even in early life, the ſpirit of emulation and choice, and this prevents them from cultivating the agreeable talents of education. They ſeem to have neither power nor taſte for any thing but dancing, which undoubtedly tranſports and animates them to higher pleaſures. This inſtinct of pleaſure attends them through all the ſtages of life; whether it is, that they ſtill retain ſome ſhare of their youthful ſenſibility, or are ſtimulated with the recollection of it; or from other reaſons which are unknown to us.

BOOK II.

FROM this conſtitution ariſes ſuch an extremely ſenſible and ſympathizing character, that they cannot even bear the ſight of miſery; though they are, at the ſame time, rigid and ſevere with reſpect to the ſervice they require of thoſe domeſtics that are attached to their perſon. More deſpotic and inexorable towards their ſlaves than the men themſelves, they feel no remorſe in ordering chaſtiſements, the ſeverity of which would be a puniſhment and a leſſon to them, if they were obliged to inflict them themſelves, or were witneſſes to them.

THIS ſlavery of the negroes is, perhaps, the cauſe from whence the Creoles in part derive a certain character, which makes them appear ſtrange, fantaſtic, and of an intercourſe not much reliſhed in Europe. From their earlieſt infancy they are accuſtomed to ſee a number of tall and ſtout men about them, whoſe buſineſs it is to conjecture and anticipate their wiſhes. This firſt view muſt immediately inſpire them with the moſt extravagant opinion of themſelves. Seldom meeting with any oppoſition to their caprice, tho' ever ſo unreaſonable, they aſſume a ſpirit of preſumption, tyranny and diſdain for a great part of mankind. Nothing is more inſolent than the man who always lives with his inferiors; but when theſe happen to be ſlaves, habituated to wait upon children, to dread even their cries, which muſt expoſe them to puniſhment, what muſt maſters become who have never obeyed; wicked men who have never been puniſhed; and madmen who are uſed to put their fellow-creatures in irons?

So cruel an example of dependence gives the Americans that pride which muſt neceſſarily be deteſted in Europe, where a greater equality among men teaches them a greater mutual reſpect. Educated without knowing either pain or labour, they are neither able to ſurmount a difficulty, or bear contradiction. Nature hath

hath given them every advantage, and fortune refuſed them nothing. In this reſpect, like moſt kings, they are unhappy becauſe they have never experienced adverſity. If the climate did not ſtrongly excite them to love, they would not taſte a ſingle true pleaſure: and yet they have ſeldom the happineſs of forming an idea of thoſe paſſions, which thwarted by obſtacles and refuſals, are fed with tears, and gratified with virtue. If they were not confined by the laws of Europe, which govern them by their wants, and repreſs or reſtrain the extraordinary degree of independence they enjoy, they would fall into a ſoftneſs and effeminacy which would render them ſooner or later the victims of their own tyranny, or would ſink them into a ſtate of anarchy that would overturn all the foundations of their community.

But if they once ceaſed to have negroes for ſlaves, and kings who live at a diſtance from them for maſters, they, perhaps, would become the moſt aſtoniſhing people that ever appeared on the earth. The ſpirit of liberty which they would imbibe from their earlieſt infancy, the underſtanding and abilities which they would inherit from Europe; the activity, which the neceſſity of repelling numerous enemies would inſpire; the large colonies they would have to form; the rich commerce they would have to found on an immenſe cultivation; the ranks and ſocieties they would have to create; and the maxims, laws and manners they would have to eſtabliſh on the principles of reaſon: all theſe ſprings of action would, perhaps, make of an equivocal and miſcellaneous race of people, the moſt flouriſhing nation that philoſophy and humanity could wiſh for the happineſs of the world.

If ever any fortunate revolution ſhould take place in the world, it will begin in America. After having experienced ſuch devaſtation, this new world muſt flouriſh in its turn, and, perhaps, command the old. It will be-

BOOK II.

come the aſylum of our people who have been oppreſſed by political eſtabliſhments, or driven away by war. The ſavage inhabitants will be civilized, and oppreſſed ſtrangers will become free. But it is neceſſary that this change ſhould be preceded by conſpiracies, commotions, and calamities; and that a hard and laborious education ſhould prediſpoſe their minds both to act and to ſuffer.

YE young Creoles, come into Europe to exerciſe and practiſe what we teach you, there to collect in the precious remains of our ancient manners, that vigour which we have loſt, there to ſtudy our weakneſs, and draw from our follies themſelves thoſe leſſons of wiſdom which produce great events. Leave in America your negroes, whoſe condition diſtreſſes us, and whoſe blood, perhaps, is mingled in all thoſe ferments which alter, corrupt, and deſtroy our population. Fly from an education of tyranny, effeminacy and vice, which you contract from the habit of living with ſlaves, whoſe ſtupidity inſpires you with none of thoſe elevated and virtuous ſentiments which can only give riſe to a people that will become famous. America hath poured all the ſources of corruption on Europe. To complete its vengeance, it muſt draw from it all the inſtruments of its proſperity. As it has been deſtroyed by our crimes, it muſt be renewed by our vices.

NATURE ſeems to have deſtined the Americans to a greater ſhare of happineſs than the Europeans. In the iſlands are ſcarcely known ſuch diſeaſes as the gout, gravel, ſtone, apoplexies, pleuriſies, complaints of the cheſt, and other diſorders, which winter occaſions. None of thoſe ſcourges of the human race which are ſo fatal in other countries, have ever made the leaſt ravages there. If the air of the country can be withſtood and the middle age be attained to, this is ſufficient to inſure a long and happy courſe of life. There old age

age is not tottering, languiſhing, and beſet with thoſe infirmit es which affect it in our climate.

Diſeaſes to which the Europeans are ſubject in the iſlands.

In the Caribbees, however, new born infants are attacked with a diſeaſe which ſeems peculiar to the torrid zone: it is called *tetanos*. If a child receives the impreſſions of the air or wind, if the room where it is juſt born is expoſed to ſmoke, to too much heat or cold, the diſorder ſhews itſelf immediately. It firſt ſeizes the jaw, which becomes rigid and fixed, ſo as not to be opened. This ſpaſm ſoon communicates itſelf to the other parts of the body; and the child dies for want of being able to take nouriſhment. If it eſcapes this danger, which threatens the nine firſt days of its exiſtence, it has nothing to fear. The indulgences which are allowed to children before they are weaned, which is at the end of the twelve months, ſuch as the uſe of coffee, chocolate, wine, but eſpecially ſugar and ſweetmeats; theſe indulgencies that are ſo pernicious to our children, are offered to thoſe of America by nature, which accuſtoms them in early age to the productions of their climate.

The fair ſex, naturally weak and delicate, has its infirmities as well as its charms. In the iſlands they are ſubject to a weakneſs, an almoſt total decay of their ſtrength; an unconquerable averſion for all kind of wholeſome food, and an irregular craving after every thing that is prejudiced to their health. Salt or ſpiced food is what they only reliſh and deſire. This diſeaſe is a true cachexy, which commonly degenerates into a dropſy. It is attributed to the diminution of the catamenia in thoſe women who come from Europe, and to the weakneſs or total ſuppreſſion of that periodical diſcharge in Creoles.

The men, more robuſt, are liable to more violent complaints. In this vicinity of the equator, they are

BOOK II.

expoſed to a hot and malignant fever, known under different names, and indicated by haemorrhages. The blood which is boiling under the fervent rays of the ſun, is diſcharged from the noſe, eyes, and other parts of the body: nature in temperate climates does not move with ſuch rapidity, but that in the moſt acute diſorders there is time to obſerve and follow the courſe ſhe takes. In the iſlands, her progreſs is ſo rapid, that if we delay to attack the diſorder, as ſoon as it appears, its effects are certainly fatal. Thus it is, that the patient in the ſpace of twenty-four hours muſt be bled fifteen or eighteen times, while in the intervals he has recourſe to other remedies. No ſooner is a perſon ſeized with ſickneſs, but the phyſician, the lawyer, and the prieſt, are all called to his bed-ſide.

MOST of thoſe who ſurvive theſe violent ſhocks, being exhauſted by the manner in which they have been treated, recover very ſlowly and with difficulty. Several fall into an habitual weakneſs, occaſioned by the debility of the whole machine, whom the noxious air of the country and the little nouriſhment their food ſupplies, are not able to reſtore. Hence obſtructions, jaundice, and ſwelling of the ſpleen, are produced, which ſometimes terminate in dropſies.

ALMOST all the Europeans who land in America, are expoſed to this danger, and frequently the Creoles themſelves on their return from more temperate climates. But it never attacks women whoſe blood has the natural evacuations, and negroes, who, born under a hotter climate, are inured by nature, and prepared by a free perſpiration, for all the ferments that the ſun can produce.

IT is certainly owing to the ſun, the heat of whoſe rays, being leſs oblique, and more conſtant than in our climates, occaſions theſe violent fevers. Its heat muſt inevitably produce a thickening of the blood through the exceſs of perſpiration, a want of elaſticity in the ſolids, a dila-

a dilation of the veſſels by the impulſe of the fluids, whether in proportion to the rarefaction of the air, or the leſs degree of compreſſion which the ſurface of the bodies is expoſed to in a rarefied atmoſphere.

Some of theſe inconveniencies might, perhaps, be prevented by purging and bleeding on the paſſage as we advanced toward the torrid zone; by repeating theſe precautions in the iſlands, and by the uſe of the cold bath.

But far from having recourſe to theſe expedients, which reaſon indicates, the inhabitants fall into ſuch exceſſes as are the moſt likely to haſten and increaſe the diſorder. The ſtrangers who arrive at the Caribees, are excited by the entertainments they are invited to, the pleaſures they partake of, and the kind reception they meet with; every thing induces them to an immoderate indulgence of all the pleaſures which cuſtom renders leſs prejudicial to thoſe who are born under this climate. Feaſting, dancing, gaming, late hours, wine, cordials, and frequently the chagrin of diſappointment in their imaginary expectations, conſpire to add to the ferment of an immoderate heat of the blood, which ſoon becomes inflamed.

With ſuch indulgence, it is ſcarce poſſible to reſiſt the heat of this climate, and even the greateſt precautions are not ſufficient to ſecure perſons from the attack of thoſe dangerous fevers; when the moſt ſober, and moderate men, who are the moſt averſe from every kind of exceſs; and the moſt careful in all their actions, are victims to the new air they breathe. In the preſent ſtate of the colonies, of ten men that go into the iſlands, four Engliſh die, three French, three Dutch, three Danes, and one Spaniard.

When it was obſerved how many men were loſt in theſe regions, at the time they were firſt occupied, it

was

BOOK II.

was generally thought, that the ſtates who had the ambition of ſettling there would be depopulated in the end.

Advantages of thoſe nations that are in poſſeſſion of the iſlands.

EXPERIENCE hath altered the public opinion upon this point. In proportion as theſe colonies have extended their plantations, they have been ſupplied with more means of expence. Theſe new means have opened into their mother country new ſources of conſumption. The increaſe in exportations, could not take place without an increaſe of labour. Theſe labours have brought together a greater number of men, which will ever be the caſe when the means of ſubſiſtence are multiplied. Even foreigners have reſorted in great multitudes into thoſe kingdoms, which opened a field to their ambition and induſtry.

POPULATION not only increaſed among the proprietors of the iſlands, but the people have alſo become more happy. Our felicity in general is proportiond to our conveniences, and it muſt increaſe as we can vary and extend them. The iſlands have been productive of this advantage to their poſſeſſors: They have drawn from theſe fertile regions a number of commodities, the conſumption of which hath added to their enjoyments. They have drawn ſome, which when exchanged for others among their neighbours, have made them partake of the luxuries of other climates. In this manner, the kingdoms which have acquired the poſſeſſion of the iſlands, by lucky circumſtances, or by well combined projects, are become the reſidence of the arts, and of all the polite amuſements which are a natural and neceſſary conſequence of great plenty.

BUT this is not the only advantage; theſe colonies have raiſed the nations that founded them, to a ſuperiority of influence in the political world, in the following manner: Gold and ſilver, which form the general circulation of Europe, come from Mexico, Peru, and Brazil.

zil. They belong neither to the Spaniards nor the Portugueſe, but to the people, who give their merchandiſe in exchange for theſe metals. Theſe people have accounts between them, that are ultimately ſettled at Liſbon and Cadiz, which may be looked upon as a common and univerſal repoſitory. It is in theſe places that one muſt judge of the increaſe or decline of the trade of each nation. That nation whoſe accounts of ſale and purchaſe are kept in ballance with others, acquires its intereſt entire. That which hath purchaſed more than it hath ſold, withdraws leſs than its intereſt; becauſe it hath ceded a part of it, in order to ſatisfy the demands of the nation to which it was indebted. That which has ſold more to other nations, than it hath purchaſed of them, does not only get what was owing from Spain and Portugal, but alſo the profit it has derived from other nations with whom it hath made exchanges. This laſt advantage is peculiar to the people who poſſeſs theſe lands. Their capital is annually increaſed by the ſale of the valuable productions of theſe countries; and the augmentation of their ſtock confirms their ſuperiority, and renders them the arbiters of peace and war. But we ſhall explain, in the following Book, how far each nation hath increaſed its power by the poſſeſſion of the iſlands.

END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

BOOK

BOOK III.

Settlements of the Spaniards, the Dutch, and the Danes, in the American iſlands.

BOOK III.

A Spaniſh colony form'd on the banks of the Oronooko. The uſe that has, and might have been made of it.

THE honour of having diſcovered the great Archipelago of the Caribbees, and of having formed the firſt ſettlements on them is due to Spain. The moſt advanced of theſe from the American continent, is called Trinidad. Columbus landed on it in 1498, when he diſcovered the Oronooko; but other objects interfering, both the iſland and the coaſts of the neighbouring continent were at that time neglected. But the luſtre of the gold, which had been ſeen from a diſtance glittering on the ſhore, cauſed them to be reviſited by the nation, which had firſt made the diſcovery. The conqueſt of thoſe immenſe regions, which are watered by one of the largeſt and richeſt rivers of the univerſe, was reſolved upon; and the iſland of Trinidad, ſituated at the mouth of the Oronooko, was peopled, in order to inſure and facilitate the execution of ſo great an enterprize. An iſland has always the advantage of a continent, when, having but a ſmall extent of country to defend, it has a very

very large one to attack; as was the caſe in the preſent inſtance.

THE river Oronooko, which, as is commonly believed, ſprings from the Cordeleras, after being increaſed in a courſe of five hundred and ſeventy-five leagues by the influx of a great number of rivers of different magnitude, empties itſelf into the ocean by more than fifty channels. Its impetuoſity is ſo great, that it ſtems the moſt powerful tides and preſerves the freſhneſs of its waters to the diſtance of twelve leagues from that vaſt and deep channel within which it was confined. But this rapidity is not always equal, and owes its variations to a circumſtance, perhaps, entirely peculiar. The Oronooko, in the month of April, begins to ſwell, and continues to riſe during five months; the ſixth it remains at its greateſt height: in October, it begins to ſubſide, and falls gradually till the month of March, during which it continues in a fixed ſtate of its greateſt diminution. Theſe alternate changes are regular even to certainty.

THIS Phaenomenon, the cauſe of which is not known, ſeems to depend much more on the ſea than on the land. In the ſix months that the river is riſing, the hemiſphere of the new world preſents nothing but ſeas, at leaſt, but little land to the perpendicular action of the rays of the ſun. In the ſix months of its fall America exhibits nothing but dry land to the planet, by which it is illuminated. The ſea, at this time, is leſs ſubject to the influence of the ſun, or, at leaſt, its current towards the eaſtern ſhore is more ballanced, more broken by the land, and muſt, therefore, leave a freer courſe to the rivers, which, not being then ſo ſtrongly tied by the ſea, cannot be ſwelled but by rains, or by the melting of the ſnows from the Cordeleras. Perhaps, indeed, the riſing

BOOK III.

riſing of the waters of the Oronooko may depend entirely on the rainy ſeaſon. But to be thoroughly acquainted with the cauſes of ſo ſingular a phænomenon, it would be neceſſary to conſider, how far the courſe of this river may be affected by that of the Amazons, and to know the track and direction both of the one and the other. From the difference of their ſituation, their ſource, and their opening into the ſea, it is not improbable, that the cauſe of ſo remarkable a difference in the periods of their flux and reflux might be diſcovered. All things are connected in this worldly ſyſtem. The courſes of rivers depend either on the diurnal or annual revolutions of the earth. Whenever an enlightened people ſhall acquire a knowledge of the banks of the Oronooko, they will diſcover, or, at leaſt, they will endeavour to diſcover the cauſes of theſe phænomena. But their endeavours will be attended with difficulties. The river is not ſo navigable as it might be preſumed, from its magnitude; its bed is in many places, filled up with rocks, which oblige the navigator at times to carry both his boats and the merchandiſe they are laden with.

THE people, who border on this river, but little diſtant from the burning Line, inhabiting a country, perhaps, too fruitful to have been cultivated, known neither the trouble of clothes, the reſtraints of police, nor the burthen of government. Free under the yoke of poverty, they live chiefly by hunting and fiſhing, and on wild fruits. But little of their time or labour can be ſpent on Agriculture, where they have nothing but a ſtick to plough with, and hatchets made of ſtone to cut down trees, which being burned or rotted, leave the ſoil in a proper ſtate for bearing.

IT was not till the year 1535, that the Spaniards thought of paying another viſit to the river Oronooko.

Having

Having been diſappointed in their ſearch after mines, they conſidered it of ſo little importance, that they never formed more than one ſmall ſettlement upon it. This is ſituated at the lower part of the river, and is called St. Thomas. The firſt coloniſts applied themſelves with ſo much ardour to the cultivation of tobacco, that they delivered annually ten cargoes to the Dutch. This intercourſe having been prohibited by the metropolis, the town, which hath alſo been twice ſacked by privateers, inſenſibly dwindled to nothing. The whole employment of the place, at preſent, is to breed a few cattle, which they ſend to Cumana, by an inland communication.

THESE vaſt and fertile regions would ſoon emerge from their preſent obſcurity, if Spain knew how to avail herſelf of the active ambition of the Jeſuits. It is well known that theſe men, admirable as a ſociety, dangerous in political, and deteſtable in a religious view, had ſucceeded ſo far as to draw from the midſt of their foreſts a great number of wild natives; to ſettle them on the banks of the Oronooko, and other rivers, moſt of which are navigable, that fall into it; to inſtill into them ſome ſocial principles, and ſome taſte for ſome of the more neceſſary arts, particularly agriculture. Theſe people already cultivate ſugar, cotton, tobacco, and cocoa, for their own conſumption: would it not be poſſible to induce them to increaſe the growth of theſe commodities, by offering them others in exchange? The diſtance between a ſavage and a ſocial ſtate is immenſe; but from the infancy of ſociety to a flouriſhing ſtate of commerce, there are but a few ſteps to make. Time, which improves the ſtrength, ſhortens the diſtances. Spain would be enriched by her traffic with theſe new plantations, whoſe produce might be carried to Trinidad,

and

BOOK III.

and thus that iſland would be reſtored to its original deſtination.

Settlement of the Spaniards at Trinidad, and at Margaretta.

BUT, beſides the ſerving as a ſtaple, its extent, the fruitfulneſs of its ſoil, and the convenience of its roads, would make it an object in itſelf of conſiderable importance. Thoſe, who have ſurveyed it with ſufficient attention and ſkill to diſcern through the impediments of thick foreſts, with which it is covered, the real value of it, have eſteemed it capable of producing in abundance many ſpecies of commodities, and even ſuch as bear a high price. Yet, its produce hath been confined merely to cocoa; but this was in ſuch perfection, that it was preferred even to that of Caracca; and the Spaniſh merchants, in order to ſecure it, ſtrove to anticipate each other by paying for it in advance. This eagerneſs, which may ſometimes give a ſpur to the induſtry of a people naturally active, is ſure deſtruction to thoſe, among whom the deſire of eaſe has the force of a paſſion, and even almoſt of a neceſſity, if not of nature, at leaſt, of habit. The proprietors having received more money than they could repay with that ſingle commodity, in which their whole fortune conſiſted, fell, by degrees, into deſpair; and from the dread of unuſual toil, gave over all thoughts of labour. Since the year 1727, there hath been no more cocoa to be found on the iſland; which, from that time, hath had no correſpondence with the metropolis.

THE ſame negligence had before ruined Margaretta. This iſland enjoyed a momentary life and proſperity from a ſpecies of wealth drawn from the bottom of the ſea, which encompaſſed it. Columbus in 1498 diſcovered at the diſtance of four leagues the little iſle of Cubagua, afterwards called pearl iſland. The quantities of this treaſure, which nature yielded without any expence,

at-

attracted the Spaniards to this place in 1509. They brought with them ſome ſavages from the Bahama iſlands, who had been found not proper for working in the mines, but had a faculty of continuing a long time under water. This talent of theirs was employed with ſo much ardour, that great fortunes were raiſed in a very ſmall time. The banks of pearl were exhauſted, and the colony transferred in 1524 to Margaretta, where ſome of the ſame kind had juſt been diſcovered, and which diſappeared in a ſtill ſhorter time. From this period that iſland, which is fifteen leagues in length, and ſix in breadth, became more neglected by Spain than Trinidad.

THAT the court of Madrid ſtill maintains poſſeſſion of theſe two iſlands, is more for the ſake of keeping nations of greater induſtry at a diſtance from the continent, than with a view of deriving any advantage to itſelf from them. Here is a mixt race, formed between Spaniards and Indian women, who joining the indolence of the ſavage to the vices of civilized nations, are ſluggards, cheats, and zealots. They live on what fiſh they catch, and bananas, which nature, out of complaiſance as it were to their ſlothfulneſs, produces there of a larger ſize, and better quality than in any other part of the Archipelago. They have a breed of lean and taſteleſs cattle, with which they carry on a fraudulent traffic to the French colonies, exchanging them for camlets, black veils, linens, ſilk ſtockings, white hats, and iron ware. The number of their veſſels does not exceed thirty ſloops, without decks.

THE tame cattle of theſe two iſlands have filled the woods with a breed that is become wild. The inhabitants ſhoot them, and cut their fleſh into ſlips of three inches in breadth and one in thickneſs, which they dry, after having melted the fat out of them, ſo that they

BOOK III.

will keep three or four months. This proviſion, which is called Taſſau, is ſold in the French ſettlements for twenty livres (17*s.* 6*d.*) a hundred weight.

ALL the money which the government ſends to theſe two iſlands, falls into the hands of the commandants, the officers civil and military, and the monks. The remainder of the people, who do not amount to more than ſixteen hundred, live in a ſtate of the moſt deplorable poverty. In time of war they furniſh about two hundred men, who for the ſake of plunder offer themſelves without diſtinction to any of the colonies, that happen to be fitting out cruizers for ſea.

Spaniſh ſettlement at Porto Rico.

THE inhabitants of Porto Rico are of a different turn. That iſland, which is ſituated in the center of the Antilles, is forty leagues in length, and twenty in its greateſt breadth. Though it was diſcovered and viſited by Columbus in 1493, the Spaniards neglected it till 1509, when thirſt of gold brought them thither from St. Domingo, under the command of Ponce de Leon, to make a conqueſt, whſch afterwards coſt them dear.

EVERY one knows, that the uſe of poiſoned arms is of the higheſt antiquity. In moſt countries it preceded the invention of ſteel. When darts, headed with ſtone, bones of fiſh or other animals, proved inſufficient to repel the attacks of wild beaſts, men had recourſe to poiſonous juices, which from being originally deſigned merely for the chace, were afterwards employed in war againſt their own ſpecies. Ambition and revenge ſet no limits to their outrages, till ages had been ſpent in drowning whole nations in rivers of blood. When it was diſcovered, that this effuſion of blood produced no advantage, and that in proportion as the ſtream ſwelled in its courſe, it depopulated countries, and left nothing but deſerts without animation and without culture; they

then

then came to an agreement to moderate in ſome degree the thirſt of ſhedding it. They eſtabliſhed what are called the laws of war; that is to ſay, injuſtice in injuſtice, or the intereſt of kings in the maſſacre of the people. They do not now cut the throats of all their victims at once; but reſerve ſome few of the herd to propagate the breed. Theſe laws of war, or of nations, required the abolition of certain abuſes in the art of killing. Where fire-arms are to be had, poiſoned weapons are forbidden, and when cannon balls will do the buſineſs, chewed bullets are not allowed. O! race unworthy both of heaven or earth, deſtructive, tyrannical being, man, or devil rather, wilt thou never ceaſe to torment this globe, where thou exiſteſt but for a moment? Will thy wars never end but with the annihilation of thy ſpecies? Go then; if thou wouldſt advance thy miſchief, go and provide thyſelf with the poiſons of the new world.

Of all the regions, productive of venomous plants, none abounded ſo much in them as South-America, which owed this malignant fertility to a ſoil in general rank, as if it was purging itſelf from the ſlime of a deluge.

The plants called Lianes, of which there were vaſt numbers in all damp and marſhy places, furniſhed the poiſon, which was in univerſal requeſt on the continent. The method of preparing it was by cutting them in pieces, then boiling them in water, till the liquor had acquired the conſiſtence of a ſyrup. After this they dipped their arrows in it, which were immediately impregnated with the poiſonous quality. During ſeveral ages, the ſavages in general uſed theſe arms in their wars with each other. At length many of thoſe nations, from the deficiency of their numbers, found the neceſſity of renouncing ſo deſtructive a weapon, and re-

BOOK III.

ſerved it for beaſts, whether large or ſmall, which they could not overtake or overcome. Any animal, whoſe ſkin has been raſed with one of theſe poiſoned arrows, dies a minute after, without any ſign of convulſion or pain. This is not occaſioned by the coagulation of the blood, which was a long time the general opinion; recent experiments have proved that this poiſon, mixt with blood newly drawn and warm, prevents it from coagulating, and even preſerves it ſome time from putrefaction. It is probable, that the effect of theſe juices is upon the nervous ſyſtem. Some travellers have imputed the origin of the venereal diſeaſe among the inhabitants of the new world, to the habit of eating game killed with theſe poiſoned arms. At preſent it is univerſally known, that the fleſh of ſuch animals may be eaten for a continuance without any ill effect.

In the American iſlands, they draw their poiſon from trees more than from the Lianes; and of all the venomous ſorts of trees, the moſt deadly is the manchineel. Its trunk, which is never more than two feet in circumference, is covered with a ſmooth tender bark. Its flowers are of a reddiſh caſt. Its fruit is of the colour of a peach, and has a ſtone in the middle. The leaves of it are like thoſe of the laurel, and contain a milky fluid. In the heat of the day it is dangerous to handle them, on account of the moiſture which exudes from their pores; and ſtill more dangerous to repoſe under them, from the prodigious quantity of duſt that falls from the innumerable flowers borne by theſe trees. Inciſions being made in the trunk of them, ſhells are placed under to receive the ſap; as ſoon as it is grown a little thick, they ſteep the points of their arrows in it, which acquire from thence the property of conveying ſudden death, be the wound ever ſo ſlight. This poiſon, as appears by experience, preſerves its venomous quality

quality above a hundred years. Of all the ſpots where this tree is found, Porto-Rico is that in which it delighteth moſt, and where it is found in the greateſt abundance. Why were not the firſt conquerors of America all ſhipwrecked on this iſland? It is the misfortune of both worlds that they became acquainted with it ſo late, and that they did not there meet with the death which their avarice merited.

THE mancheneel ſeems not to have been fatal but to the Americans. The inhabitants of the iſland where it grows, uſed it to repel the Caribbees, who made frequent deſcents on their coaſts. The ſame arms they might have employed againſt the Europeans; and, as the Spaniards were ignorant at that time, that ſalt, applied immediately, is an infallible cure, they would probably have fallen a ſacrifice to the firſt effects of this poiſon. But they did not meet with the leaſt reſiſtance on the part of the ſavage inhabitants of the iſland. They had been informed of what had occurred in the conqueſt of the neighbouring iſles, and they regarded theſe ſtrangers as a ſuperior order of beings, to whoſe chains they voluntarily ſubmitted themſelves. It was not long, however, before they wiſhed to ſhake off the intolerable yoke which had been impoſed on them, and poſtponed the enterprize only till they could be aſſured, whether their tyrants were immortal. A Cacique, named Broyo, was intruſted with this commiſſion.

CHANCE favoured his deſign, by bringing to him Salzedo, a young Spaniard, who was travelling. He received him with great reſpect, and at his departure ſent ſome Indians to attend him on his way, and to ſerve him in the quality of guides. When they came to the bank of a river, which they were to paſs, one of theſe ſavages took him on his ſhoulder to carry him over. As ſoon as they had got into the midſt of it, he threw him into

BOOK III.

the water, and with the aſſiſtance of his companions, kept him there till there was no appearance of life. They then dragged him to the bank; but as they were ſtill in doubt, whether he was dead or living, they begged pardon a thouſand times for the accident that had happened. This farce laſted three days; till at length being convinced by the ſtench of the corpſe, that it was poſſible for Spaniards to die, the Indians roſe on all ſides upon their oppreſſors, and maſſacred a hundred of them.

PONCE de Leon immediately aſſembled all the Caſtilians who had eſcaped, and without loſs of time fell upon the ſavages, who were terrified with this ſudden attack. In proportion as the number of their enemies increaſed, their panic became more violent. They had even the folly to believe, that theſe Spaniards which were juſt arrived from St. Domingo, were the ſame that had been killed, and were come to life again to fight them. Under this ridiculous perſuaſion, dreading to continue a war with men who revive after their death, they ſubmitted once more to the yoke, and being condemned to the mines, in a ſhort time fell martyrs to the toils of ſlavery.

SUCH acts of barbarity by no means promoted the intereſts of Spain. An iſland of conſiderable extent, enriched by a great number of rivers, fruitful, though unequal; furniſhed with an excellent port, and coaſts of eaſy acceſs: this iſland, the poſſeſſion of which would have made the fortune of an active nation, is ſcarcely known in the world. The inhabitants amount barely to fifteen hundred, including Spaniards, Meſtees, and Mulattos. They have about three thouſand negroes, whoſe employment is rather to gratify the indolence, than to aſſiſt the induſtry of the proprietors. Both maſters and ſlaves, brought nearly upon a footing by their

their ſloth, ſubſiſt alike on maize, potatoes, and caſſava. If they cultivate ſugar, tobacco, and cocoa, it is only ſo much of each as is neceſſary for their own conſumption. Their exports conſiſt of about two thouſand ſkins, which they furniſh annually to the mother country, and a conſiderable number of mules, good in their kind, but ſmall, ſuch as are uſually found in broken and mountainous countries. Theſe mules are ſmuggled into Santa-Cruz, Jamaica, and St. Domingo. This colony is protected in its idleneſs by a garriſon of two hundred men; which, with the clergy and civil officers, coſt government 250,000 livres, (near 11,000*l.*) This money, added to what they get for their cattle, is ſufficient to pay the Engliſh, Dutch, French, and Danes, for the linens and other merchandiſe they ſupply. All the advantage the metropolis derives from this ſettlement, is to take in water and freſh proviſions there for the fleets ſhe ſends to the new world.

If Spain hath ſo little conſideration of her own intereſts, as to neglect the advantage which ſhe might draw from an iſland of ſuch importance, at leaſt ſhe ought to permit ſuch of her ſubjects, as chance hath conducted there, to emerge from that ſhameful poverty in which they languiſh. To render their condition more happy, nothing is wanted but liberty of a free market for their cattle. They could find paſture for as much as would ſupply the conſumption of all the Caribbee iſlands, where the lands are occupied in tillage. The ſituation of a ſettlement in the center of thoſe iſlands, would be a very favourable circumſtance for its trade with them. An open communication with active and enlightened people, would excite thoſe coloniſts who are not ſo. The deſire of partaking in the ſame enjoyments, would inſpire the ſame ardour for buſineſs. The court of Madrid would then reap the political fruits

BOOK III.

of a condeſcenſion which humanity alone ſhould dictate to her. Till this liberty of commerce is granted, Porto-Rico will be of no more ſervice to her than St. Domingo.

Spaniſh ſettlement at St. Domingo.

THIS iſland, famous for being the earlieſt ſettlement of the Spaniards in the new world, was at firſt in high eſtimation for the quantity of gold it produced: this wealth diminiſhed with the inhabitants of the country, whom they obliged to dig it out of the bowels of the earth; and the ſource of it was entirely dried up, when the neighbouring iſlands no longer ſupplied the loſs of thoſe wretched victims to the avarice of the conqueror. A vehement deſire of opening again this ſource of wealth, inſpired the thought of getting ſlaves from Africa; but beſides that, theſe were found unfit for the labours they were deſtined to; the multitude of mines which then began to be wrought on the continent, made thoſe of St. Domingo no longer of any importance. An idea now ſuggeſted itſelf, that their negroes, which were healthy, ſtrong, and patient, might be uſefully employed in huſbandry; and they adopted, through neceſſity, a wiſe reſolution, which, had they known their own intereſt, they would have embraced by choice.

THE produce of their induſtry was at firſt extremely ſmall, becauſe the labourers were few. Charles the fifth, who, like moſt ſovereigns, preferred his favourites to every thing, had granted an excluſive right of the ſlave trade to a Flemiſh nobleman, who made over his privilege to the Genoeſe. Thoſe avaricious republicans conducted this infamous commerce as all monopolies are conducted; they reſolved to ſell dear, and they ſold but few. When time and competition had fixed the natural and neceſſary price of ſlaves, the number of them increaſed. It may eaſily be imagined, that the Spaniards, who had been accuſtomed to treat the Indi-

ans,

ans, as beaſts, though they differed but little in complexion from themſelves, did not entertain a higher opinion of theſe negro Africans, whom they ſubſtituted in their place. Degraded ſtill further in their eyes by the price they had paid for them, even religion could not reſtrain them from aggravating the weight of their ſervitude. It became intolerable, and theſe wretched ſlaves made an effort to recover the unalienable rights of mankind. Their attempt proved unſucceſsful; but they reaped this benefit from their deſpair, that they were afterwards treated with leſs inhumanity.

THIS moderation (if tyranny cramped by the apprehenſion of revolt can deſerve that name) was attended with good conſequences. Cultivation was purſued with ſome degree of ſucceſs. Soon after the middle of the ſixteenth century the metropolis drew annually from this colony ten million weight of ſugar, a large quantity of wood for dying, tobacco, cocoa, caſſia, ginger, cotton, and peltry in abundance. One might imagine, that ſuch favourable beginnings would give both the deſire and the means of carrying them further; but a train of events more fatal each than the other, ruined theſe hopes.

THE firſt misfortune aroſe from the depopulation of St. Domingo. The Spaniſh conqueſts on the continent ſhould naturally have contributed to promote the ſucceſs of an iſland, which nature ſeemed to have formed to be the center of that vaſt dominion ariſing around it, to be the ſtaple of the different colonies. But it fell out quite otherwiſe: on a view of the immenſe fortunes raiſing in Mexico, and other parts, the richeſt inhabitants of St. Domingo began to deſpiſe their ſettlements, and quitted the true ſource of riches, which is on the ſurface of the earth, to go and ranſack the bowels

BOOK III.

els of it for veins of gold, which are quickly exhauſted. The government endeavoured in vain to put a ſtop to this emigration; the laws were always either artfully eluded or openly violated.

THE weakneſs, which was a neceſſary conſequence of ſuch a conduct, leaving the coaſts without defence, encouraged the enemies of Spain to ravage them. Even the capital of this iſland was taken and pillaged by that celebrated Engliſh ſailor, Francis Drake. The cruizers of leſs conſequence contented themſelves with intercepting veſſels in their paſſage through theſe latitudes, the beſt known at that time of any in the new world. To complete the miſchief, the Caſtilians themſelves commenced pirates. They attacked no ſhips but thoſe of their own nation, which were more rich, worſe provided, and worſe defended than any others. The cuſtom they had of fitting out ſhips clandeſtinely, in order to procure ſlaves, prevented them from being known; and the aſſiſtance they purchaſed from the ſhips of war commiſſioned to protect the trade, inſured to them impunity.

THE foreign trade of the colony was its only reſource, in this diſtreſs; and that was illicit: but as it continued to be carried on, notwithſtanding the vigilance of the Governors, or, perhaps, by their connivance, the policy of an exaſperared and ſhort-ſighted court exerted itſelf in demoliſhing moſt of the ſea-ports, and driving the miſerable inhabitants into the inland country. This act of violence threw them into a ſtate of dejection, which the incurſions and ſettlement of the French on the iſland afterwards, carried to the utmoſt pitch.

SPAIN, totally taken up with that vaſt empire, which ſhe had formed on the continent, uſed no pains to diſſipate this lethargy. She even refuſed to liſten to the ſolicitations

licitations of her Flemiſh ſubjects, who earneſtly preſſed that they might have permiſſion to clear thoſe fertile lands. Rather than run the riſque of ſeeing them carry on a contraband trade on the coaſts, ſhe choſe to bury in oblivion a ſettlement, which had been of conſequence, and was likely to become ſo again.

THIS colony, which had no longer any intercourſe with the metropolis, but by a ſingle ſhip, of no great burthen, received from thence every third year, conſiſted in 1717, of eighteen thouſand, four hundred and ten inhabitants, including Spaniſh, Meſtees, negroes, or Mulattos. The complexion and character of theſe people differed according to the different proportions of American, European and African blood they had received from that natural and tranſient union which reſtores all races and conditions to the ſame level; for love is not more a reſpecter of perſons than death. Theſe demi-ſavages, plunged in the extreme of ſloth, lived upon fruits and roots, dwelt in cottages without furniture, and moſt of them without clothes. The few among them, in whom indolence had not totally ſuppreſſed the ſenſe of decency, and taſte for the conveniencies of life, purchaſed clothes of their neighbours the French, in return for their cattle, and the money ſent to them for the maintenance of two hundred ſoldiers, the prieſts and the government. It does not appear that the company, formed at Barcelona 1757, with excluſive privileges for the re-eſtabliſhment of St. Domingo, hath as yet made any conſiderable progreſs. They ſend out only two ſmall veſſels annually, which are freighted back with ſix thouſand hides, and ſome other commodities of little value.

ST. Domingo, the capital of the colony, and the place where this traffic is carried on, is ſituated on the ſide of a plain

BOOK III.

a plain thirty leagues in length, and from eight to twelve in breadth. This large tract, which, properly cultivated, would furniſh proviſions to the amount of twenty millions, (875,000*l.*) is covered with foreſts and under-wood, with here and there ſome paſture land interſperſed, which ſerves for a conſiderable number of cattle. This ſpot, which is level throughout almoſt its whole extent, becomes unequal in the neighbourhood of the town, which is built on the banks of the Lozama. Some magnificent ruins are almoſt all the remains of the once flouriſhing ſtate of this celebrated city. On the land-ſide, it has no fortification, but a ſimple wall, without either ditch, or outworks; but towards the river and the ſea it is well provided. Such is the only ſettlement the Spaniards have kept up on the ſouthern coaſt.

On the north there is one called Monte Chriſto. Happily this maritime and commercial place hath had no connection with Spain. It owes its trade to the vicinity of the French plantations. In time of peace, the produce of the plain of Mariboux, ſituated between fort Dauphin and bay Mancheneel, is all carried to this port, which is conſtantly filled with Engliſh ſmugglers. When there is a rupture between the courts of London and Verſailles, without engaging that of Madrid, Monte Chriſto becomes a very conſiderable market; for all the northern part of the French colony ſend their commodities thither, where they never fail of meeting with ſhips ready to take them off; but the moment Spain finds herſelf called upon to take a part in the diſputes between the two rival nations, this briſk trade ceaſes.

The Spaniards have no ſettlement in the weſtern part of the iſland, which is entirely occupied by the French; and it is not above nine or ten years ſince they thought

thought of ſettling to the eaſtward, which they had long entirely neglected.

THE project of cultivation, which accidentally found its way into the council at Madrid, might be carried into execution in the plain of Vega-Real, which is ſituated in the inland part, and is fourſcore leagues in length, by ten, in its greateſt breadth. It would be difficult to find throughout the new world a ſpot more level, more fruitful, or better watered. All the productions of America would ſucceed admirably there; but it would be impoſſible to remove them from thence, without making roads, which is an undertaking that would ſtagger nations more enterpriſing than the Spaniards. Theſe difficulties ſhould naturally have led them to fix their eyes on the plains of St. Domingo, which are fruitful, though not in ſo great a degree as thoſe of Vega-Real. Probably they were apprehenſive, that the new coloniſts would adopt the manners of the old, ſo they determined upon Samana.

SAMANA is a peninſula, on the eaſtern part of the iſland, five leagues broad and ſixteen long; and is joined to the continent by a narrow ſlip of very marſhy ground. It forms a bay of fourteen leagues in length, where the anchorage is in fourteen fathom, and ſo commodious that the ſhips may lie cloſe to the ſhore. This bay is full of little iſlands, which it is eaſy to keep clear of by ſteering cloſe to the weſtern coaſt. Beſides the poſſeſſion of a fertile though not a level ſoil, this neck of land affords a ſituation very advantageous for trade, and for bringing the ſhips that come from Europe cloſe to the ſhore.

THESE conſiderations induced the firſt adventurers from France, who ravaged St. Domingo, to ſettle at Samana; where they maintained their ground a long time, though ſurrounded by their enemies. At length,

it

BOOK III.

it was found that they were too much expoſed, and at too great a diſtance from the reſt of the French ſettlements on the iſland, which were every day improving. In conſequence of this they were recalled. The Spaniards rejoiced at their departure, but did not take poſſeſſion of the ſpot they had quitted.

WITHIN theſe few years, however, they have ſent thither ſome people from the Canaries; the ſtate was at the expence of the voyage, and of their maintenance for ſeveral years. Theſe meaſures, prudent as they were, have not been attended with ſucceſs. The new inhabitants have for the moſt part fallen victims to the climate, to the clearing, and above all to the arbitrary impoſitions of the governors, whoſe military turn is ever fatal to colonies. Of theſe ſtrangers the few, that ſurvive ſo many evils, languiſh under the expectation of approaching death. Such unſucceſsful beginnings promiſe no very fortunate concluſions. St. Domingo is likely to continue, as far as concerns the Spaniards, in the ſame feeble ſtate they have left it till now. Nature and fortune will make them amends by Cuba.

Spaniſh colony form'd at Cuba. Importance of that Iſland.

THE iſland of Cuba, which is ſeparated from St. Domingo by a narrow channel, is of itſelf equal in value to a kingdom: it is two hundred and fifty leagues in length, and in breadth from fifteen to twenty and thirty. Though it was diſcovered by Columbus, in 1492, the Spaniards did not attempt to make themſelves maſters of it till 1511, when Diego de Velaſquez came with four ſhips and landed on the eaſtern point.

THIS diſtrict was under the government of a Cacique, called Hatuey. He was a native of St. Domingo, or Hiſpaniola, and had retired hither to avoid the ſlavery to which his countrymen were condemned. Thoſe who could eſcape the tyranny of the Caſtilians, had followed

followed him in his retreat, where he formed a little state and ruled in peace. At a distance he observed the Spanish sails, whose approach he dreaded. On the first news he received of their arrival, he called together the bravest Indians both of his subjects and allies, to animate them to a defence of their liberty; assuring them, at the same time, that all their efforts would be ineffectual, if they did not first render the God of their enemies propitious to them: *Behold him there!* said he, pointing to a vessel filled with gold, *behold that mighty divinity, let us invoke his aid!*

THIS simple and credulous people easily believed, that gold, for the sake of which so much blood was shed, was the god of the Spaniards. They danced and sang before the rude and unfashioned ore, and resigned themselves wholly to its protection.

BUT Hatuey, more enlightened, and more suspicious than the other Caciques, assembled them again. *We must not*, said he to them, *expect any happiness so long as the god of the Spaniards remains among us. He is no less our enemy than they. They seek for him in every place, and where they find him, there they establish themselves. Were he hidden in the cavities of the earth, they would discover him. Were we to swallow him, they would plunge their hands into our bowels, and drag him out. There is no place but the bottom of the sea, that can elude their search. When he is no longer among us, doubtless we shall be forgotten by them.* As soon as he had done speaking, every man brought out his gold and threw it into the sea.

NOTWITHSTANDING this, the Spaniards advanced. Their muskets and cannons, those tremendous deities, dispersed with their thunder the savages, who endeavoured to resist: but, as Hatuey might reassemble them, he was pursued through the woods, taken, and condemned

BOOK III.

demed to be burned. When he was faſtened to the ſtake, and waited only for the kindling of the fire, an inhuman prieſt advanced to propoſe the ceremony of baptiſm, and to ſpeak to him of Paradiſe. *Are there,* ſaid the Cacique, *any Spaniards in that happy place? Yes,* replied the miſſionary, *but there are none but good ones. The beſt of them,* returned Hatuey, *are good for nothing. I will not go to a place, where I ſhould be in danger of meeting one of them. Talk no more to me of your religion, but leave me to die.*

THUS was the Cacique burned, the God of the Chriſtians diſhonoured, his croſs imbrued with human blood; but Velaſquez found no more enemies to oppoſe him. All the Caciques haſtened to do homage to him. After the mines had been opened, and it was found, that they did not anſwer, the inhabitants of Cuba being become uſeleſs were exterminated; for at that time to conquer was to deſtroy. One of the largeſt iſlands in the world did not coſt the Spaniards a ſingle man; but what profit have they drawn from the conqueſt of Cuba?

THE ſettlement they have formed upon this iſland may be conſidered in three views, each of which merits a ſerious attention. The firſt is, on account of the produce of the country, which is conſiderable; the ſecond, as being the ſtaple of a great trade; and the third, as being the key to the new world.

THE principal growth of this vaſt iſland is naturally cotton. This ſhrub, at the time of the conqueſt, was very common there. The preſervation of it required little expence or labour; and the general dryneſs of the ſoil adapted it particularly to this purpoſe. The commodity, however, is now become ſo ſcarce, that ſometimes ſeveral years paſs without any of it being ſent to Europe.

AL-

ALTHOUGH the Spaniards have an inſurmountable antipathy to imitation, yet they have of late adopted the cultivation of Coffee at Cuba, having obſerved the rapid progreſs it made in the neighbouring iſlands. But in borrowing the commodity from foreign coloniſts, they have not borrowed their diligence in improving it. Their whole produce of coffee barely amounts to thirty or five and thirty thouſand weight, one third of which is exported to Vera Cruz, and the reſt to Madrid. One ſhould naturally conclude, that the growth of this plant will increaſe, in proportion as the uſe of a liquor ſo familiar to people, in hot climates, ſhall become more common among the Spaniards; but a nation, which was the firſt to introduce into Europe a taſte for coffee, and the laſt to adopt it both in Europe and America, will be ſlow in all its improvements, as it is in every kind of invention. The propagation of coffee requires that of ſugar; it may be worth while, therefore, to inquire how far the Spaniards are prepared by the one for the other.

SUGAR, which is the richeſt and moſt valuable production of America, would of itſelf be ſufficient to give to Cuba that flouriſhing ſtate of proſperity, every ſource and channel of which nature ſeems to have opened for her. Although the ſurface of the iſland is in general unequal and mountainous, yet it has plains ſufficiently extenſive, and ſufficiently watered, to ſupply the conſumption of the greateſt part of Europe in that article. The incredible fruitfulneſs of its new lands, if properly managed, would enable it to ſurpaſs every other nation, however they may have got the ſtart of it; their labour of more than half a century, ſpent in bringing their works to perfection, would end in this, that a rival, by taking up their method, would outſtrip them, and in leſs than twenty years engroſs the whole of their profits.

BOOK III.

But the Spaniſh colony is ſo jealous of their ſuperiority, that to this day they have but few plantations, where, with the fineſt canes, they make at a great expence, but a ſmall quantity of ſugar, and that of a coarſer ſort. This ſerves partly for the Mexican market, and partly for the metropolis; which, inſtead of making a gold mine, as it ſhould do, of its ſugar trade, buys to the value of more than five millions at foreign markets.

It has probably been expected, that the tobacco imported from Cuba would make amends for this loſs; for after furniſhing Mexico and Peru, there was ſufficient, with the little brought from Caracca and Buenos Ayres, to ſupply the demands of all Spain. The greateſt part comes there in leaf. That which is cured in the country by Pedro Alonzo, has been, and is ſtill held in the higheſt eſteem. This Spaniard, the only one perhaps who has enriched himſelf by a truly uſeful induſtry, has gained in this trade between twelve and fifteen millions of livres. (from about 500,000*l.* to 650,000*l.* ſterl.) If the government had liſtened to this active citizen, the national wealth would have been augmented by the increaſed growth of a plant, which caprice renders ſo valuable. The decay of this trade is ſolely owing to the negligence of the court of Madrid, in not gratifying the general taſte of Europe for tobacco from the Havannah.

The Spaniſh colonies have an univerſal trade in ſkins. Cuba produces annually ten or twelve thouſand. The number might be eaſily increaſed in a country abounding with wild cattle, where gentlemen poſſeſs on the coaſts, and in the inland parts, large tracts of country, which for want of population can ſcarcely be applied to any other purpoſe than that of breeding cattle.

It would be ſaying too much to aſſert, that the hundredth part of this iſland is cleared: there are only ſome traces

traces of cultivation at St. Jago, a port to the windward of the colony, and at Matanga, a ſafe and ſpacious bay at the mouth of the old canal. The true plantations are all confined to the beautiful plains of the Havannah, and even theſe are not what they ought to be.

ALL theſe plantations together, may employ about five and twenty thouſand male and female ſlaves, of every age. The number of whites, meſtees, mulattos, and free negroes, upon the whole iſland, amount to near thirty thouſand. The food of theſe different ſpecies of inhabitants, conſiſts of excellent pork, deteſtable beef (both in great plenty and exceedingly cheap) and manioc. Even the troops have no other bread than the caſſava. The habit of ſeeing Europeans frequently at Cuba, has, probably, preſerved the inhabitants from that languid ſtate of inaction which prevails in all the other Spaniſh colonies in the new world. It muſt be further obſerved, that the people are leſs mixed, their dreſs more decent, and their manners better regulated than in the other iſlands.

THE ſtate of the colony would be ſtill more flouriſhing, if its productions had not been made the property of a company, whoſe excluſive privilege operates as a conſtant and invariable principle of diſcouragement. The leſs induſtrious a nation is inclined to be, the more careful it ought to be to avoid every meaſure that may tend to obſtruct the progreſs of the more active and laborious part of the people.

IF any thing could ſupply the want of an open trade, and atone for the grievances occaſioned by this monopoly at Cuba, it would be the advantage this iſland has always enjoyed of being the rendezvous of almoſt all the Spaniſh veſſels that ſail to the new world. This practice commenced almoſt with the colony itſelf. Ponce de Leon having made an attempt upon Florida

BOOK III.

in 1512, became acquainted with the new canal of Bahama. It was immediately diſcovered, that this would be the beſt route the ſhips bound from Mexico to Europe could poſſibly take; and in conſequence of this was formed the ſettlement at the Havannah, which is but two ſmall days journey from the canal. This port was afterwards found very convenient for veſſels diſpatched from Carthagena and Porto-Bello, which in a ſhort time purſued the ſame courſe; always putting in there and waiting for each other, that they might ſet ſail in greater ſtate for the metropolis. The vaſt ſums expended during their ſtay by ſailors, whoſe cargoes conſiſted of the richeſt treaſures of the univerſe, made the city abound in money. The number of its inhabitants, which in 1561, conſiſted only of three hundred families, and was nearly doubled at the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, amounts at preſent to ten thouſand ſouls.

One part of them is employed in the dock-yards, formerly erected by government for building ſhips of war. As to the maſts, iron, and cables, they are brought from Europe; the other materials are found in abundance upon the iſland. But that which is moſt valuable is tbe timber, which, growing under the influence of the hotteſt rays of the ſun, laſts with moderate care for a whole century; whereas European ſhips dry and ſplit under the torrid zone. This wood begins to be ſcarce in the neighbourhood of the Havannah; but it is common on all the coaſts, and the tranſportation of it is neither dear nor difficult. Spain is the more intereſted to multiply its docks, as the ſeas, moſt frequented by its ſhipping, all lie between tropics. There is ſtill another motive for making the yards at the Havannah the principal reſource of its naval power, and that is, the pains which are now taking to render this key

key to all its colonies impregnable. The importance of its undertaking may perhaps make the detail of it not disagreeable. BOOK III.

EVERY one knows, that the harbour of the Havannah is one of the safeſt in the univerſe; that the fleets of the whole world might ride at anchor there together; that the water is excellent and eaſily procured. The entrance is ſecured by rocks, which make it neceſſary to keep an exact courſe, in order to avoid ſtriking on them. It is become more difficult ſince the year 1762, when they ſunk three men of war there. This precaution has proved detrimental only to the Spaniards, who have not yet been able to weigh up thoſe large veſſels; and there was the leſs reaſon for it, as the enemy would not have attempted to force their way into the harbour, which was defended by the Moro and the fort on the point. The former of theſe fortreſſes is raiſed ſo high above the ſea, that even a firſt rate man of war could not batter it. The other has not the ſame advantage; but then it cannot be attacked but by a very narrow channel, where the warmeſt aſſailants could never withſtand the numerous and formidable artillery of the Moro.

THE Havannah, therefore, can only be attacked on the land ſide. Fifteen or ſixteen thouſand men, which are the moſt that could be employed in this ſervice, would not be ſufficient to inveſt the works, which cover a vaſt extent. Their efforts muſt be directed either to the right or left of the port, againſt the town or the Moro. If the latter, they may eaſily land within a league of the fort, and will come within ſight of it, without difficulty, by good roads, through woods which will cover and ſecure their march.

THE firſt difficulty will be that of getting water, which in the neighbourhood of the camp they muſt chooſe, is mortal. To fetch ſuch as is drinkable, they

BOOK III.

must go in boats to the diſtance of three leagues, and it will be neceſſary to ſend a conſiderable force for this purpoſe to the only river where it is to be had, or to leave a detachment there in intrenchments; which being at a diſtance from the camp, without communication or ſupport, will be in perpetual danger of being cut off.

PREVIOUS to the attack of the Moro, they muſt make themſelves maſters of the Cavagna, which has been lately built. It is a crown work, compoſed of a baſtion, two curtains, and two demi-baſtions in front. Its right and left lie upon the bank of the harbour. It has caſemates, reſervoirs of water, and powder magazines that are bomb proof; a good covered way, and a wide ditch cut in the rock. The way which leads to it, is compoſed of ſtones and pebbles, without any mixture of earth. The Cavagna is placed on an eminence which commands the Moro; but is itſelf expoſed to attacks from a hill, which is of an equal height, and not more than three hundred paces diſtant from it. As it would be eaſy for an enemy to open their trenches under the cover of this hill, the Spaniards intend to level it; after which the Cavagna may extend its view and its batteries to a great diſtance. If the garriſon ſhould find themſelves ſo preſt, as not to be able to maintain its poſt, it would blow up its works, which are all undermined, and retreat into the Moro, the communication with which cannot poſſibly be cut off.

THE famous fortreſs of the Moro, had towards the ſea, on which ſide it is impregnable, two baſtions; and on the land ſide two others, with a wide and deep ditch cut out of the rock. Since it was taken it has been entirely rebuilt, and its parapets made higher and thicker. They have added a good covered way, and every thing that was wanting to ſecure the garriſon

and

and the ſtores. It is not eaſier to open trenches before this place than the Cavagna. Both of them are built with a ſoft ſtone, which will be leſs dangerous to the defenders than the common ſort of free-ſtone.

INDEPENDENT of theſe advantages, the two fortreſſes have in their favour a climate extremely hazardous to beſiegers, and an eaſy communication with the town for receiving all ſorts of proviſions, without a poſſibility of being interrupted. Thus circumſtanced, theſe two places may be conſidered as impregnable, at leaſt as very difficult to be taken, provided they are properly ſtocked with proviſions, and defended with courage and ability. The preſervation of them is of ſo much greater importance, as their loſs would neceſſarily occaſion the ſurrender of the harbour and town, which are both of them commanded and may be battered from theſe eminences.

AFTER having explained the difficulties of taking the Havannah by attacking the Moro, we muſt next ſpeak of thoſe which muſt be encountered on the ſide of the town.

IT is ſituated near the bottom of the harbour. It was defended as well towards the harbour as to the country, by a dry wall, which was good for nothing, and twenty-one baſtions, which were not much better. It had a dry ditch and of little depth. Before this ditch was a kind of covered way almoſt in ruins. The place, in this ſtate, could not have reſiſted a ſudden attempt, which had it been made in the night, and ſupported by ſeveral attacks, true or falſe, would certainly have carried it. They propoſe at preſent to make wide and deep ditches, and to add an exceeding good covered way.

THESE neceſſary defences will be ſupported by the fort at the point; which is a ſquare, built of ſtone, and though ſmall, is provided with caſemates. It has

BOOK III.

been rebuilt, having been very much damaged during the ſiege. There is a good dry ditch round it, dug out of the rock. Independent of its principal deſtination, which is to co-operate with the Moro in defending the port, and for which it is perfectly well calculated; it has ſeveral batteries which open upon the country, and flank ſome ports of the town wall.

Its fire croſſes that of a fort of four baſtions, which has a ditch, covered way, powder magazine, caſemates, and reſervoirs of water. This new fortification, which is erected at three quarters of a mile from the place, on an eminence called Aroſtigny, will require a ſiege in form, if the town is to be attacked on that ſide, particularly as it is ſo conſtructed as to have a view of the ſea, to command a conſiderable tract on the land ſide, and to diſturb an enemy exceedingly in getting water, which they muſt fetch from its neighbourhood.

In ſkirting the city onward, we come to the fort Dalteres, which has been raiſed ſince the ſiege. It is of ſtone, has four baſtions, a covered way, a half moon before the gate, a wide ditch, a good rampart, reſervoirs, caſemates, and a powder magazine. It is barely three quarters of a mile diſtant from the town, and is ſituated on the other ſide of a river and an impracticable moraſs, which cover it in that direction. The riſing ground upon which it is built, is entirely occupied by it, and has been inſulated by the digging of a broad ditch, into which the ſea has a paſſage from the bottom of the harbour. Beſides its commanding the communication between the town and the interior part of the iſland, it defends the circuit of the place by croſſing its fires with thoſe of Aroſtigny. They are going to conſtruct a large redoubt in the interval of theſe two forts, which will be an additional protection to the town. The Dalteres alſo croſſes its fire with that of the Moro,

Moro, which is very high, and ſituated at the extreme point of the fort.

SUCH a continuation of works, which will require a garriſon of four thouſand men, and may be finiſhed in two or three years, coſt Spain immenſe ſums. The purchaſe of mere materials coſt her at firſt ten millions; (above 430,000*l.* ſterling.) the employment of them annually amounts to ſix or ſeven. (about 285,000*l.* upon an average.) Four thouſand blacks in the ſervice of the government, and a number of Mexicans, condemned to the public works, are the inſtruments of this undertaking. They might have haſtened the end of the toils of ſo many victims, if they would have permitted the troops to take a ſhare of the burthen, which they wiſhed, as a means to reſcue them from that dreadful indigence under which they languiſh.

IF it were allowable to form an opinion upon a ſubject, which our profeſſion does not give us a right to underſtand, we might venture to aſſert, that when all theſe works ſhall be finiſhed, thoſe who would undertake the ſiege of the Havannah, ſhould begin by the Cavagna and the Moro; becauſe, theſe forts once taken, the town muſt of courſe ſurrender, or be deſtroyed by the artillery of the Moro. On the contrary, if they ſhould determine for the town ſide, the beſiegers would ſcarcely find themſelves in a better condition, even after they had taken it. Indeed they would have it in their power to deſtroy the dock-yards, and the ſhips that might happen to be in the harbour; but this would produce no permanent advantage. In order to eſtabliſh themſelves, they muſt ſtill be obliged to take the Cavagna and the Moro, which in all probability they would find impoſſible, after the loſs they muſt have ſuſtained in the attack of the town and its fortreſſes.

BUT

BOOK III.

But whatever plan may be purſued in the ſiege of this place, the aſſailants will not only have to combat the numerous garriſon incloſed within its works, there will be a corps likewiſe which will take the field, and continually interrupt their operations. This ſmall army will be compoſed of two ſquadrons of European dragoons, well mounted, armed and diſciplined, and a company of a hundred migrelets. To theſe may be added all the inhabitants of the iſland, whites, mulattos, and free negroes, who are regimented to the number of ten thouſand men; but as the greateſt part of them have no idea of diſcipline, they would only create confuſion. This, however, will not be the caſe with a regiment of cavalry of four ſquadrons, and ſeven battalions of militia, which ſince the peace they have accuſtomed to perform their manœuvres with aſtoniſhing regularity. Theſe troops armed, cloathed, and accoutred at the expence of the government, and paid in time of war upon the footing of regulars, are trained and commanded by majors, ſerjeants, and corporals ſent from Europe, and picked from the moſt diſtinguiſhed regiments. The forming of this militia coſts an immenſe ſum. Whether their ſervice will be anſwerable to the expence is the queſtion, which future events alone can determine. But whatever may be the military ſpirit of theſe troops, we may pronounce beforehand, that this eſtabliſhment, in a political view, is inexcuſable; and for the following reaſons:

The project of making ſoldiers of all the coloniſts of Cuba, a moſt unjuſt and deſtructive project to all colonies, has been purſued with uncommon ardour. The violence they have been forced to uſe with the inhabitants to make them ſubmit to exerciſes, which they were averſe from, has produced other effects than that of increaſing their natural love of repoſe. They deteſt thoſe

thoſe mechanical and forced movements, which, not contributing in any reſpect to their happineſs, appear doubly inſupportable; not to mention, their ſeeming frightful or ridiculous to a people, who, probably, think they have no intereſt in defending a government, by which they are oppreſt. This unwillingneſs to exert themſelves, extends even to the labour, which is neceſſary for cultivating their lands. They have entirely left off clearing, planting, and tilling for a nation, which regards them in no other light than as labourers. The eſtabliſhment of the militia too put a ſtop to agriculture. Thoſe productions which were gradually improving, have diminiſhed, and will be totally loſt, if Spain continues obſtinately to purſue a pernicious ſyſtem, which falſe principles have induced her to adopt. The rage of keeping up an army; that madneſs, which, under pretence of preventing wars, encourages them; which, by introducing deſpotiſm into governments, paves the way for rebellion among the people; which, continually dragging the inhabitant from his dwelling, and the huſbandman from his field, extinguiſhes in them the love of their country, by driving them from their home; which overſets nations and carries them over land and ſea: that mercenary profeſſion of war, ſo different from the truly military ſpirit, ſooner or later will be the ruin of Europe; but much ſooner of the colonies, and, perhaps, firſt of all, of thoſe, which belong to Spain.

THE moſt extenſive and moſt fertile part of the American Archipelago is poſſeſſed by the Spaniard. Theſe iſlands, in the hands of an induſtrious nation, would have proved a ſource of unbounded wealth. In their preſent ſtate, their are vaſt foreſts, exhibiting only a frightful ſolitude. Far from contributing to the ſtrength and riches of the kingdom they belong to, they ſerve only

BOOK III.

ly to weaken and to exhauſt it by the expences required to maintain them. If Spain had attended properly to the political improvements of other nations, ſhe would have diſcovered that ſeveral of them owed their influence ſolely to the advantages they have drawn from iſlands in every reſpect inferior to thoſe, which have hitherto only ſerved the ignominious purpoſe of ſwelling the liſt of the numberleſs and uſeleſs poſſeſſions of the Spaniſh crown. She would have learned, that there is no other rational foundation of colonies, eſpecially of thoſe which have no mines, but agriculture.

The Spaniards not incapable, as is ſuppoſed, of bringing their colonies to great perfection.

It is not doing juſtice to the Spaniards to ſuppoſe, that they are naturally incapable of labour. If we give the leaſt attention to the exceſſive fatigues which thoſe of them who are concerned in contraband trade, ſubmit to with the utmoſt patience, we ſhall find that their toils are infinitely more grievous, than any that attend the management of a plantation. If they neglect to enrich themſelves by agriculture, it is the fault of their government. If they were once freed from the tyranny of monopolies; if they were permitted to buy the implements of huſbandry at a moderate rate; if the produce of their cultivation was not ſubject to ſuch exorbitant duties; if they were not oppreſt, as ſoon as it is found that they begin to be ſucceſsful; if induſtry was not looked upon as a dangerous virtue; if intereſted individuals were not permitted to exerciſe an abſolute and venal authority over them, they would throw off that habit of indolence and inactivity, by which Spain is almoſt annihilated. It is aſtoniſhing that a kingdom, which, under Charles the fifth, was as it were the head, which directed all the motions of Europe, ſhould now be a feeble and lifeleſs part of it; and that a ſtate, which makes the principal figure

figure in the map of our continent, ſhould make the moſt contemptible one in the hiſtory of it.

If Spain would recover from her infatuation, let her ſupport her coloniſts. The treaſures of Mexico and Peru are at hand to give riches to the iſlands; and the generous aſſiſtance will be amply paid. All the productions of the new world require a capital in advance: ſugar in particular demands a large fund, and the returns are proportionable to it. There is not a ſingle inhabitant at Trinidad, Margaretta, Porto-Rico, or St. Domingo, capable of the undertaking; and there are not above thirty at Ceuta. All theſe unemployed, drooping coloniſts ſeem to join in one common petition to the metropolis for means to ſhake off the lethargy in which they are plunged. Alas! might the diſintereſted hiſtorian, who neither ſeeks nor deſires any thing but the general good of mankind, be permitted to furniſh them with thoſe ſentiments and expreſſions, which the habit of ſloth, the rigour of government, and prejudices, of every kind ſeem to have precluded them from the uſe of. Thus would he in their name addreſs the court of Madrid, and the whole Spaniſh nation.

"Reflect on what we aſk from you, and ſee, if you "will not reap a centuple advantage by the valuable "commodities we ſhall ſupply to your now expiring "commerce. Your marine, increaſed by our labours, "will form the only bulwark that can preſerve to you "thoſe poſſeſſions, which are now ready to eſcape from "your hands. As we become more rich, our conſumption will be the greater; and then the country, "which you inhabit, and which droops with you, tho' "nature herſelf invites it to fertility; thoſe plains, "which preſent to your eyes only a deſert ſpace, and "are a diſgrace to your laws and to your manners, will "be

BOOK III.

"be converted into fields of plenty. Your native land "will flouriſh by induſtry and agriculture, which have "now forſaken you. The ſprings of life and activity, "which ye will have conveyed to us through the chan- "nel of the ſea, will flow back, and encompaſs your "dwellings with rivers of abundance. But if ye are in- "ſenſible to our complaints and misfortunes; if ye do "not govern us for our ſakes; if we are only the vic- "tims of our loyalty; recall to your minds that ever "celebrated æra in which a nation of unfortunate and "diſcontented ſubjects ſhook off the yoke of your do- "minion; and by their toils, their ſucceſs, and their "opulence, juſtified their revolt in the eyes of the "whole world. They have been free near two centuries, "and ſhall we ſtill have to lament, that we are govern- "ed by you? when Holland broke in piececes the rod of "iron, which cruſhed her: when ſhe roſe from the "depth of the waters to rule over the ſea, heaven, "without doubt, raiſed her up as a monument of free- "dom to point out to the nations of the world the path "of happineſs, and to intimidate faithleſs kings who "would exclude them from it."

In effect this commonwealth, which hath for a long time ſtood upon an equality with the greateſt kings, roſe to that height in part by the proſperity of her colonies, What means ſhe hath purſued to attain this end we are now to conſider.

The Dutch eſtabliſh themſelves at Curaſſoro, St Euſtatia, Saba and St. Martin. The uſe of theſe ſmall iſlands.

Before the diſcovery of the weſtern coaſt of Africa, the paſſage to India, by the cape of Good Hope, and particularly before the diſcovery of America, the European nations ſcarcely knew, or viſited each other, except in making laborious incurſions, the aim of which was plunder, and the conſequence, deſtruction. Excepting a ſmall number of tyrants, who, by oppreſſing the weak, found

found means to ſupport a luxury dearly purchaſed, all the inhabitants of the different ſtates were obliged to content themſelves with the meagre ſubſiſtance furniſhed them by lands ill cultivated, and a trade, which extended only to the frontiers of each province. Thoſe great events towards the end of the fifteenth century, which form one of the moſt brilliant epochas of the hiſtory of the world, did not produce ſo ſudden a change of manners, as might naturally be ſuppoſed. Some of the Hanſe-towns and ſome Italian republics, it is true, ventured as far as Cadiz, and Liſbon, which were become great marts, to purchaſe the rare and valuable productions of both the Indies; but the conſumption was very ſmall through the inability of the ſeveral nations to pay for them. Moſt of them were languiſhing in a ſtate of abſolute lethargy; they were totally ignorant of the advantages and reſources of the countries that belonged to them. BOOK III.

To rouze them from this ſtate of inſenſibility, there was wanting a people, who ſpringing from nothing ſhould inſpire activity and intelligence into every mind, and diffuſe plenty through every market; that ſhould offer the produce of all countries at a lower price, and exchange the ſuperfluities of every nation for thoſe commodities which they want; that ſhould give a quick circulation to produce merchandiſe and money; and by facilitating and increaſing conſumption, ſhould encourage population, agriculture, and every branch of induſtry. For all theſe advantages Europe is indebted to the Dutch. The blind multitude may be excuſed in confining themſelves to the enjoyment of their proſperity, without knowing the ſources of it; but it is incumbent on the philoſopher and the politician to tranſmit to poſterity the fame of the benefactors of mankind; and

BOOK III.

and to trace out, if it be poſſible, the progreſs of their beneficence.

When the generous inhabitants of the United Provinces freed themſelves from the dominion of the ſea and of tyranny, they perceived that they could not fix the foundation of their liberty in a ſoil, which did not afford the neceſſaries of life. They were convinced, that commerce, which to moſt nations is no more than an acceſſion, a means only of increaſing the quantity and value of the produce of their reſpective countries, was to them the ſole baſis of their exiſtence. Without territory and without productions, they determined to give a value to thoſe of other nations, ſatisfied that their own would be the reſult of the general proſperity. The event juſtified their policy.

Their firſt ſtep was to eſtabliſh, among the nations of Europe, an exchange of the commodities of the north, with thoſe of the ſouth. In a ſhort time the ſea was covered with the ſhips of Holland. In her ports were collected all the commercial effects of different countries, and from thence they were diſperſed to their reſpective deſtinations. Here the value of every thing was regulated, and with a moderation which precluded all competition. The ambition of giving greater ſtability and extent to her enterprizes excited in the republic a ſpirit of conqueſt. Her empire extended itſelf over a part of the Indian continent, and over all the iſlands of conſequence in the ſea, that encompaſſes it. By her forteſſes or her fleets, ſhe kept in ſubjection the coaſt of Africa; but her laws were no where acknowledged except in the countries belonging to America, where cultivation had ſowed the ſeeds of real wealth. The immenſe chain of her connections embraced the univerſe of

of which, by toil and induſtry, ſhe became the ſoul. In a word, ſhe had attained the univerſal monarchy of commerce.

SUCH was the ſtate of the United Provinces in 1661, when the Portugueſe, recovering themſelves from that languor and inaction, which the tyranny of Spain had thrown them into, found means to repoſſeſs themſelves of that part of Brazil which the Dutch had taken from them. From this firſt ſtroke, that republic would have loſt all footing in the new world, had it not been for a few ſmall iſlands; particularly that of Curaſſou, which they took from the Caſtilians, who had been in poſſeſſion of it ever ſince 1527.

THIS rock, which is not above three leagues off the coaſt of Venezuela, is about ten leagues long and five broad. It has an excellent harbour, but the entrance is difficult. The baſon is extremely large, and convenient in every reſpect; and is defended by a fort ſkilfully conſtructed and always kept in good repair.

THE French, in 1673, having corrupted the commandant, landed there to the number of five or ſix hundred men: but the treaſon having been diſcovered, and the traitor puniſhed, they met with a very different reception from what they expected, and reimbarked with the diſgrace of having expoſed only their own weakneſs, and the iniquity of their meaſures.

LEWIS the XIVth, whoſe pride was hurt by this imprudent check, ſent out d'Eſtrees five years after with eighteen ſhips of war, and twelve buccaneering veſſels, to wipe off the ſtain, which in his eyes tarniſhed the glory of a reign filled with wonders. The admiral was not far from the place of his deſtination, when by his raſhneſs and obſtinacy, he ran his ſhips aground on Davis's iſland; and after collecting the ſhattered remains

BOOK III.

of his fleet, returned in very bad condition to Breſt, without having attempted any thing.

FROM this period neither Curaſſou, nor the little iſlands Aruba and Bonaire, which are dependent on it, have met with any diſturbance. No nation has thought of ſeizing upon a barren ſpot, where they could find only a few cattle, ſome caſſava, ſome vegetables proper to feed ſlaves, and not one article for commerce.

ST. Euſtatia is of very little more conſequence. This iſland, which is about five leagues in circumference, is properly nothing but a ſteep mountain riſing out of the ſea in the form of a cone. It has no port, and is confined to a bay, which does not ſtrictly belong to it. Some Frenchmen, who had been driven from St. Chriſtopher's, took refuge there in 1629, and abandoned the place ſometime after; becauſe, beſides the barrenneſs of the rock, there was no freſh water, but what they got from rain collected in ciſterns. The exact time of their quitting it is not known; but it is certain, that in 1639 the Dutch were in poſſeſſion of it. They were afterwards driven out by the Engliſh, and theſe by Lewis the XIVth, who cauſed his right of conqueſt to be recognized in the negotiation of Breda, and would not liſten to the repreſentations of the republic, with which he was then in alliance, and which preſſed ſtrongly for the reſtitution of this iſland, as having been in poſſeſſion of it before the war. When the ſigning of the peace had put an end to theſe repreſentations, the French monarch, whoſe pride more readily ſubmitted to the dictates of generoſity than of juſtice, thought it not conſiſtent with his dignity to take advantage of the misfortunes of his friends. He of his own accord reſtored to the Dutch their iſland, although he knew that it was a natural fortreſs, which might be

of

of ſervice in defending that part of St. Chriſtopher's which belonged to him.

St. Euſtatia produces ſome tobacco, and near ſix hundred thouſand weight of ſugar. The number of inhabitants, employed in agriculture, conſiſts of one hundred and twenty white, and twelve hundred black people: the traders amount to about five hundred white perſons, and to twelve or fifteen hundred whenever this place has the happineſs of being neuter in time of war.

Notwithstanding its weakneſs, it has ſpared ſome of its number to people a neighbouring iſland, known by the name of Saba. This is a ſteep rock, on the ſummit of which is a little ground, very proper for gardening. Frequent rains, which do not lie any time on the ſoil, give growth to plants of an exquiſite flavour and cabbages of an extraordinary ſize. Fifty European families, with about one hundred and fifty ſlaves here raiſe cotton, ſpin it, make ſtockings of it, and ſell them to other colonies as high as ten crowns a pair. Throughout America there is no blood ſo pure as that of Saba; the women there preſerve a freſhneſs of complexion, which is not to be found in any other of the Caribbees. Happy colony! elevated on the top of a rock, between the ſky and ſea, it enjoys the benefit of both elements without dreading their ſtorms. It breathes a pure air, lives upon vegetables, cultivates a ſimple commodity, from which it derives eaſe without the temptation of riches; is employed in a buſineſs leſs laborious than uſeful, and poſſeſſes in peace all the bleſſings of moderation, health, beauty, and liberty. This is the temple of peace, from whence the philoſopher may contemplate at leiſure the errors and paſſions of men, who come, like the waves of the ſea, to ſtrike and daſh themſelves on the rich coaſts of America, the ſpoils and poſſeſſion of which they are perpe-

BOOK III.

tually contending and wreſting from each other: hence may he view at a diſtance the nations of Europe bearing thunder in the midſt of the ocean, and burning with the flames of ambition and avarice under the heats of the tropics, devouring gold without ever being ſatisfied, wading through ſeas of blood to amaſs thoſe metals, thoſe pearls, thoſe diamonds, which are uſed to adorn the oppreſſors of mankind; loading innumerable ſhips with thoſe precious caſks, which furniſh luxury with purple, and from which flow pleaſures, effeminacy, cruelty, and debauchery. The tranquil inhabitant of Saba views this maſs of follies, and ſpins in peace the cotton, which conſtitutes all his finery and wealth.

UNDER the ſame climate lies the iſland of St. Martin, which is about fifteen or ſixteen leagues round, and contains a conſiderable number of hills, which are ſo many rocks covered with briars. The ſandy ſoil of its plains and valleys, which is in itſelf barren, can only be rendered fruitful by ſhowers, which happen ſeldom, and are leſs beneficial in proportion as they are exhaled by the ſun, or drain off from the places where they fall. With ſome care, theſe caſual refreſhments might be preſerved in reſervoirs, and diſtributed from thence ſo as to produce plenty. As to the reſt, this iſland, which has no river, is furniſhed with ſprings and ciſterns, which ſupply the inhabitants with very good water. The air is very wholeſome, the coaſt abounds with fiſh, the ſea is ſeldom tempeſtuous, and there is ſafe anchorage all round the iſland.

THE Dutch and French, who met there in 1688, lived in peace, but ſeparate from each other, when the Spaniards, who were at war with both nations, choſe to attack them in their new ſettlement, beat them, made them priſoners, and took poſſeſſion of the place themſelves:

ſelves: but the conqueror ſoon grew weary of an eſtabliſhment which brought no profit, and coſt 400,000 livres (about 17,500*l.* ſterling) a year. He therefore quited it in 1648, after having deſtroyed every thing which he could not carry away with him.

THESE devaſtations did not hinder the former poſſeſſors from returning to the iſland as ſoon as they knew that it was evacuated. They mutually agreed never to diſturb each others peace, and have preſerved inviolably this engagement, which was equally for the advantage of both. The diſputes between their reſpective nations in no reſpect altered theſe diſpoſitions, and an uninterrupted peace reigned among them, till the year 1757, when the French were driven out by the commander of an Engliſh privateer, named Cook, but they returned again as ſoon as hoſtilities ceaſed.

OF about fifty thouſand acres of land, which this iſland contains, thirty-five thouſand belong to the French. This great extent would employ ten thouſand perſons; and it is not improbable, that the progreſs of cultivation may one day increaſe their numbers to that amount, if the rigour of our governments in Europe ſhould give birth to liberty in America. In 1753 there were not more than one hundred and two white inhabitants, and one hundred and eighty ſlaves. Their cattle conſiſted of thirty-ſeven horſes, ninety-one bulls and cows, 315 ſheep, and 458 goats. For their ſubſiſtence they cultivated 17,500 banana trees, eighty-four plots of yams or potatoes, and 82,000 trenches of caſſava. The produce of 425,600 feet of cotton trees, was all they had to trade with.

THE line of ſeparation, drawn from eaſt to weſt, which confines the Dutch within a ſmaller compaſs, has made them ample amends, by giving them poſſeſſion of the only port in the iſland, and of a large ſalt

BOOK III.

pit, which brings them in annually two hundred thouſand crowns, (26,250*l.*) They have beſides theſe, their ſugar works, which employ three thouſand ſlaves: their labour, however, never turns to account but in wet ſeaſons.

BOTH colonies have of late taken up the cultivation of coffee with good ſucceſs. This article may, perhaps, in time ſet them above their difficulties; a proſpect, which at preſent is more diſtant to the French than to the Dutch.

THE ſettlements of the latter, in the great Archipelago of America, do not thus far upon the firſt view preſent any thing curious or intereſting. Their produce, which is ſcarcely ſufficient to freight four or five moderate veſſels, ſeems not worth any degree of attention; and they would accordingly have been conſigned to oblivion, if ſome of them, which are of no conſequence in cultivation, were not very conſiderable in commerce. This is to be underſtood of St. Euſtatia and Curaſſou.

THE deſire of forming a contraband intercourſe with the Spaniſh main, was the cauſe of the conqueſt of Curaſſou. In a ſhort time a great number of Dutch ſhips arrived there: they were of force, and well equipt: their crews conſiſted of choice men, whoſe courage was ſeconded by their intereſt. Each of them had a ſhare in the cargo, which he was reſolved to defend at the riſque of his life againſt the attacks of the guarda-coſtas.

AFTER a time, the method of carrying on this trade was changed. Curaſſou itſelf became an immenſe magazine, to which the Spaniards reſorted in their boats to exchange their gold, ſilver, vanilla, cocoa, cochineal, bark, ſkins, and mules for negroes, linen, ſilks, India ſtuffs, ſpices, laces, ribbands, quickſilver, ſteel and iron ware. Theſe voyages, though they were continual,

nual, did not prevent a multitude of Dutch ſloops making trips from their iſland to the creeks on the continent. The wants, the ſupplies, the labours, and the voyages of the two nations were reciprocal, and made their coaſts a moſt active ſcene of trade; though they were rivals in commerce, and equally covetous of gain. The modern ſubſtitution of regiſter-ſhips, in the place of galleons, has made this communication leſs frequent; but it will be revived, and even increaſed, whenever by the intervention of war the immediate communication with the Spaniſh main ſhall be cut off.

THE diſputes between the courts of London and Verſailles, open a new ſphere of action for Curaſſou. At theſe times it furniſhes proviſions to all the ſouthern coaſt of St. Domingo, and takes off all its produce. This trade will increaſe in proportion to the progreſs that part of the Freneh colony ſhall make, and of which it has conſiderable opportunities. Even the French privateers from the Windward iſlands, repair in great numbers to Curaſſou in the times of hoſtilities, notwithſtanding the diſtance. The reaſon is, that they find there all kinds of neceſſary ſtores for their veſſels; and frequently Spaniſh, but always European goods; which are univerſally uſed. Engliſh privateers ſeldom cruize in theſe parts.

EVERY commodity, without exception, that is landed at Curaſſou, pays one per cent. port-duty. Dutch goods are never taxed higher: but thoſe that are ſhipped from other European ports, pay nine per cent. more. Foreign coffee is ſubject to the ſame tax, in order to promote the ſale of that of Surinam. Every other production of America, is ſubject only to a payment of three per cent. but with an expreſs ſtipulation, that they are to be conveyed directly to ſome part of the republic.

BOOK III.

St. Euſtatia was formerly ſubject to the ſame impoſitions as Curaſſou; but they were taken off at the beginning of the late war. It derived this benefit from its neighbourhood to the Daniſh iſland of St. Thomas, which being a free port, engroſſed a great part of its trade. Under the preſent regulation, its contraband trade in time of peace is chiefly confined to the barter of Engliſh cod, for the molaſſes and rums of the French iſlands.

A STATE of hoſtility between the courts of London and Verſailles, opens a very large field to St. Euſtatia; which is enriched by their diviſions. In the laſt war it became the ſtaple of almoſt all the merchandiſe of the French colonies, and the general magazine of ſupply for them. But this great operation was not conducted ſingly by the Dutch: both Engliſh and French united in the harbour of this iſland, to form, under ſhelter of its neutrality, commercial engagements. A Dutch paſſport, which coſt 252 livres (about 11*l.* ſterling), and was granted without enquiring of what nation the perſon was who applied for it, kept their connections from public view. This great liberty gave riſe to numberleſs tranſactions between perſons very ſingularly ſituated, with regard to each other. Thus commerce found the art of pacifying or eluding the vigilance of diſcord.

BUT the Dutch, who are equally maſters of the art of converting either the good or bad fortune of others to their own profit, are not confined to the temporary advantages of a precarious trade in the new world. They are in poſſeſſion of a large territory, which they cultivate, on the continent. It is ſeparated from the French Guiana by the river Marazoni, and by that of Poumaran from Spaniſh Guiana; and known by the name of Surinam,

nam, the moſt ancient and moſt important ſettlement in the colony.

Dutch ſettlement at Surinam, Berbice, and Eſſequebé.

THE foundation of it was laid in 1640, by the French, whoſe activity carried them at that time into a variety of climates, and whoſe ficklenefs ſuffered them not to ſettle in any. They abandoned Surinam a few years after they arrived there, and were ſucceeded by the Engliſh; whoſe diligence began to be attended with ſome ſucceſs, when they were attacked in 1667 by the Dutch, who finding them diſperſed over a vaſt tract of land, had little difficulty in ſubduing them. Some years after they were to the number of twelve hundred tranſported to Jamaica, and the colony was formally ceded to the republic.

THEIR ſubjects, whoſe ſole occupation was commerce, had not the leaſt taſte for agriculture. Surinam was for ſome time a monument of the prejudices of its new maſters. At length, the company, which governed the country, cut down woods, divided part of the land among the inhabitants, and furniſhed them with ſlaves. All perſons who were deſirous of occupying theſe lands, obtained grants of them upon an engagement to pay by inſtallments out of their produce, the price at which each lot was valued: and they had the further privilege of diſpoſing of them to any purchaſer, who would agree to pay whatever part of the original debt remained due.

THE ſucceſs of theſe firſt ſettlements gave riſe to a great number of others. By degrees they extended to twenty leagues diſtance from the mouth of the Surinam, and of the Commenwine, which runs into it; and would have advanced much further, if they had not been checked by the fugitive negroes, who taking refuge in inacceſſible foreſts, where they have recovered their liberty, never ceaſe to infeſt the back parts of the colony.

THE

BOOK III.

THE difficulties, which attended the clearing of theſe lands, required that uncommon reſolution, which is ready to attempt, and that perſeverance which is capable of ſurmounting every thing. The greateſt part of the lands which were to be made fit for cultivation, were covered with water every tide to the depth of four or five feet. By making great numbers of ditches and ſluices, they ſucceeded in draining them; and thus the glory of ſetting bounds to the ocean was acquired by the Dutch in the new world, as it had been before in the old. They contrived even to give to their plantations that neatneſs which is every where a characteriſtic of them, and ſuch conveniences as are not to be found in the moſt flouriſhing either of the Engliſh or French ſettlements.

ONE of the principal circumſtances, to which they owe their ſucceſs, has been the extreme eaſe with which the ſettlers procured money to carry on their works. They raiſed as much as they could make uſe of at the rate of ſix *per cent.* but under an expreſs condition, that their plantations ſhould be mortgaged to their creditors, and that they ſhould be obliged to deliver to them their whole produce at the price current in the colony, till ſuch time as the debt ſhould be entirely paid off.

WITH the aſſiſtance of theſe loans, they formed upon the banks of the Surinam, or at a little diſtance from it, 425 plantations, upon which, in 1762, were 84,500 blacks, and 4000 white men as overſeers. Among the latter, are included French refugees, Moravians, and a very conſiderable number of Jews. There is, perhaps, no country upon earth, where this unhappy nation is ſo well treated. They not only permit them to enjoy the exerciſe of their religion, the propriety of lands, and the determination of diſputes, which ariſe among themſelves; they ſuffer them likewiſe to participate of the common rights

rights of citizens, to have a ſhare in the general adminiſtration of affairs, and to vote in the elections of public magiſtrates. Such is the influence of the ſpirit of trade, that it forces all national and religious prejudices to ſubmit to that general intereſt, which ſhould be the bond of union among mankind. What are thoſe idle nominal diſtinctions of Jews, Lutherans, French or Dutch? Miſerable inhabitants of a ſpot, which ye cultivate with ſo much toil and ſorrow; are ye not all men? Why then do ye drive each other from a world, where ye live but for an inſtant? and what a life too is it, that ye have the folly and cruelty to diſpute with each other the enjoyment of? Is it not ſufficient, that the elements, the heavens, and even the earth, fight againſt you, but ye muſt add to thoſe ſcourges, with which nature has ſurrounded you, the abuſe of that little ſtrength ſhe has left you to reſiſt them?

PARAMABIRO, the principal place of the colony of Surinam, is a ſmall town pleaſantly ſituated. The houſes are pretty and convenient, though they are only built of wood upon a foundation of European bricks. Its port, which is five leagues diſtant from the ſea, has every requiſite that can be deſired. It is the rendezvous of all the ſhips diſpatched from the metropolis to receive the produce of the colony.

THE ſucceſs of this eſtabliſhment ſuggeſted in 1732, the idea of forming another upon the river Berbice, which falls into the ſea nineteen leagues weſt of the Surinam. The ſhores at its mouth were ſo marſhy, that they found it neceſſary to go fifteen leagues up the ſtream in order to form plantations on its banks. A nation, that had made even the ſea habitable, it can ſcarcely be ſuppoſed, would yield to ſuch an obſtacle. A new company had the glory of raiſing new productions in a

ſoil

BOOK III.

ſoil taken from the bed of the ſea, and the oar gave place to the plough-ſhare.

THE ſame prodigy has ſince been attempted by another aſſociation, and with the ſame ſucceſs on the Demerary and Eſſequebé, which fall into the bay at twenty leagues diſtance from Berbice, and upon the Poumeran, at fifteen leagues from the Eſſequebé, and twenty-five from the principal mouth of the Oronooko. The two laſt colonies will probably ſome time or other equal that of Surinam; but at preſent they do not reckon that there are more than twelve hundred free perſons there, at the head of twenty-eight, or thirty thouſand ſlaves.

Produce of the three ſettlements.

THESE three ſettlements produce exactly the ſame articles; cotton, cocoa, and ſugar. Though the laſt of theſe is much the moſt conſiderable, the quantity does not anſwer either to the number of hands, or the pains they employ about it. This defect ariſes, no doubt, from the nature of the ſoil, which is too marſhy, and by its ſuperabundant humidity drowns or waſhes away vegetable ſalts and juices of the cane. The little profit they made of it induced the planters to turn their thoughts to ſome other object; and about the beginning of this centuty, they took up the cultivation of the coffee-tree.

THIS tree, originally the produce of Arabia, where nature, ſcantily ſupplying the neceſſaries of life, ſcatters its luxuries with a laviſh hand, was long the favourite plant of that happy land. The unſucceſsful attempts made by the Europeans in the cultivation of it, induced them to believe that the inhabitants of that country ſteeped the fruit in boiling water, or dried it in the oven before they ſold it, in order to ſecure to themſelves a trade from which they derived all their wealth. They continued in this error, till they had conveyed the tree itſelf

itſelf to Batavia, and afterwards to Surinam: when they were convinced by experience, that the ſeed of the coffee-tree, as well as of many other plants, will never come to any thing, unleſs it is put freſh into the ground.

THE fruit of this plant reſembles a cherry. It grows in cluſters, and is ranged along the branches under the axillæ of the leaves of the ſame green as thoſe of the laurel, but ſomething longer. They gather it, when it comes to be of a deep red, and carry it to the mill.

THE mill is compoſed of two wooden rollers, furniſhed with two plates of iron, eighteen inches long, and ten or twelve in diameter: theſe are moveable, and are made to approach a third, which is fixt, and which they call the chops. Above the rollers is a hopper, in which they put the coffee, from whence it falls between the rollers and the chops, where it is ſtript of its firſt ſkin, and divided into two parts, as may be ſeen by the form of it after it has undergone this operation, being flat on one ſide, and round on the other. From this machine it falls into a braſs ſieve, where the ſkin drops between the wires, while the fruit ſlides over them into baſkets placed ready to receive it: it is then thrown into a veſſel full of water, where it ſoaks for one night, and is afterwards thoroughly waſhed. When the whole is finiſhed, and well dried, it is put into another machine, which is called the peeling-mill. This is a wooden grinder, which is turned vertically upon its trendle by a mule or a horſe. In paſſing over the dried coffee it takes off the parchment, which is nothing but a thin ſkin that detaches itſelf from the berry, in proportion as it grows dry. The parchment being removed, it is taken out of this mill to be winnowed in another, which is called the winnowing mill. This machine is provided with

BOOK III.

with four pieces of tin fixed upon an axle, which is turned by a ſlave with conſiderable force; and the wind, that is made by the motion of theſe plates, clears the coffee of all the pellicles, that are mixt with it. It is afterwards put upon a table, where the broken berries and any filth that may happen to remain, are ſeparated by negroes. After theſe operations, the coffee is fit for ſale.

THE tree, which produces it, flouriſhes only in thoſe climates, where the winters are extremely mild. The curious raiſe them only in hot-houſes, where they water them frequently, and this merely for the pleaſure of ſeeing them.

THE coffee tree delights particularly in hills and mountains, where its roots is almoſt always dry, and its head frequently watered with gentle ſhowers. It prefers a weſtern aſpect, and plowed ground without any appearance of graſs. The plants ſhould be placed at eight feet diſtance from each other, and in holes twelve or fifteen inches deep. If left to themſelves they would riſe to the height of twenty feet; but they are ſtinted to five for the ſake of gathering their fruit with greater eaſe. Thus dwarft they extend their branches, ſo that they cover the whole ſpot round about them.

THE coffee tree bloſſoms in the months of December, January, and February, according to the temperature of the air, or the ſeaſon for rain, and bears in October or November. It begins to yield fruit the third year, but is not in full bearing till the fifth. With the ſame infirmities, that moſt other trees are ſubject to, it is likewiſe in danger of being deſtroyed either by a worm, that pierces its root, or by the darting rays of the ſun, which are as fatal to it as to the human ſpecies. The length of its life depends upon the quality of the ſoil it is planted in. The hills where it is chiefly found have a gra-

a gravelly or chalky bottom. In one of theſe it languiſhes for ſome time and then dies; in the other, its roots, which ſeldom fail of ſtriking between the ſtones, obtain nouriſhment, invigorate the trunk, and keep the tree alive and fruitful for thirty years.

THIS is nearly the period for plants of the coffee tree. The proprietor at the end of this term not only finds himſelf without trees, but has his land ſo reduced, that it is not fit for any kind of culture. One may fairly ſay, he has ſunk his capital for an income of a very ſhort continuance. If his ſituation happens to be in an iſland, entirely incloſed and occupied, his loſs is not to be repaired. But upon an open and widely extenſive continent, he may make himſelf amends for a ſpot totally exhauſted by a tract of unappropriated and unbroken virgin land, which it is at his own option to clear. This advantage has contributed amazingly to multiply the coffee plantations in that part of Guiana that belongs to the Dutch.

THE ſingle colony of Surinam furniſhed in 1768 one hundred thouſand weight of cotton, two hundred thouſand of cocoa, fourteen millions of coffee, and twenty-eight millions ſix hundred thouſand of raw ſugar, Seventy ſhips were freighted with theſe commodities to bring them to the metropolis. It is not poſſible for us to determine with the ſame preciſion the produce of the other colonies; but we ſhall not be very wide of the truth in ſetting it at one fourth part. It may and will increaſe conſiderably. Every ſpecies of cultivation, they have yet undertaken, will be extended and improved. They will, perhaps, attempt new ones; at leaſt, they will reſume that of indigo, which a few unſucceſsful experiments induced them to abandon without ſufficient reaſon.

BOOK III.

IT is true, that the coaſt, which is ſeventy-ſix leagues in extent, does not afford a ſingle ſpot for plantation. The land throughout is low and always under water. But the great rivers, upon which they have begun to ſettle, and the leaſt of which is navigable for more than thirty leagues, give a ſtrong invitation to enterpriſing men to come and enrich themſelves on their banks. The country that lies between theſe, is fruitful and watered by ſmaller rivers, which are, however, large enough to carry ſloops. The only obſtacle to great ſucceſs is the climate. The year is divided between continual rains and exceſſive heats. Their crops, which coſt them vaſt pains to raiſe, are not to be preſerved without the utmoſt difficulty from ſwarms of diſguſting reptiles; and they themſelves are expoſed ſucceſſively to the languors of the dropſy, and to fevers of every kind.

THIS is undoubtedly the reaſon, which has induced the principal proprietors of Dutch Guiana to reſide in Europe. There are ſcarcely to be found in the colony any inhabitants, but the factors of theſe wealthy men, and ſuch proprietors, whoſe fortunes are too moderate to admit of their intruſting the care of their plantations to other hands. For this reaſon their conſumption cannot be large; accordingly the veſſels, which are ſent from the metropolis to bring home their produce, carry out nothing but abſolute neceſſaries, at leaſt, if there are ever any articles of luxury, it is but ſeldom. Even this ſcanty ſupply the Dutch traders are forced to ſhare with the Engliſh of North-America.

THOSE foreigners were at firſt admitted only becauſe the colony was under a neceſſity of purchaſing horſes of them. The difficulty of breeding, and, perhaps, other cauſes, have eſtabliſhed this permiſſion. The bringing horſes is ſo indiſpenſible a paſſport for the men, that a ſhip

ſhip which does not carry a number proportioned to its ſize is not admitted into their harbours. But if the horſes happen to die in the paſſage, it is ſufficient that their heads are produced, which entitles the owners to expoſe to ſale other ſaleable commodities, with which they may have ſtocked themſelves in lieu of their horſes. There is a law forbidding payments to be made otherwiſe than by barter of molaſſes and rum; but this law is little attended to. The Engliſh, who have uſurped the right of exporting thither whatever they pleaſe, take care to export the moſt valuable commodities of the colony, and even exact payments in money or bills of exchange on Europe. Such is the law of force, which republics apply not only to other nations, but to each other. The Engliſh treat the Dutch pretty much in the ſame manner as the Athenians did the people of Melos. *It has ever been the caſe*, ſaid they to the inhabitants of that iſland, *that the weakeſt ſubmits to the ſtrongeſt: this law is not of our making; it is as old as the world, and will ſubſiſt as long as the world endures.* This argument, which is ſo well calculated to ſuit the purpoſes of injuſtice, brought Athens in its turn under the dominion of Sparta, and at length deſtroyed it by the hands of the Romans.

Dangers to which the Dutch colonies are expoſed.

VARIOUS are the opinions with reſpect to the dangers which Dutch Guiana may be expoſed to. It ſhall be our buſineſs to obtain ſome fixed idea on this important point. In the firſt inſtance, an invaſion by any of the European powers, would be eaſily effected. Their largeſt ſhips could enter the river Poumaran, the mouth of which has ſeven or eight fathom depth of water, which goes continually increaſing to forty fathom, at the diſtance of four or five leagues. The little fort of New Zealand, which protects the banks, could not ſtand their artillery for two hours. The en-

BOOK III.

trance of the Demerary, which has from eighteen to twenty and twenty-four fathom of water, and has not leſs than fifteen or ſixteen through the ſpace of four leagues, and is totally defenceleſs, would be ſtill more eaſy. The outlet of the Eſſequebé, which is three leagues in breadth, is filled with ſmall iſlands and ſhallows; but here, as well as all along the courſe of the river, are found channels deep enough to bring the largeſt ſhips up to an iſland ten leagues diſtant from the ſea, and defended only by a miſerable redoubt. And though the river Berbice, which is one league broad, can ſcarcely admit the ſmalleſt veſſels, they would carry ſufficient force to reduce fort Naſſau, and the ſcattered ſettlemets on both its banks. All the weſtern part of Dutch Guiana is ſcarcely in a condition to reſiſt the attack of an enterpriſing cruizer: but would infallibly be obliged to capitulate on the ſight of the moſt contemptible ſquadron.

THE eaſtern part, which, by its wealth, is expoſed to greater danger, is better defended. The entrance of the Surinam river is not very practicable, on account of its ſand-banks. Ships, however, that do not draw more than twenty feet water, can come in at flood. At two leagues from its outlet, the Commenwine joins the Surinam. This point of union the Dutch have principally fortified. They have erected a battery on the Surinam, another on the right bank of the Commenwine, and on the left bank a citadel called Amſterdam. Theſe works form a triangle, and their fires, which croſs each other, are contrived to have the double effect of preventing ſhips from proceeding further up one river, and from entering into the other. The fortreſs is ſituated in the middle of a ſmall moraſs, and is inacceſſible except by a narrow cauſeway entirely commanded by the artillery. It requires no more than

than eight or nine hundred men to garriſon it completely. It is flanked with four baſtions, and ſurrounded with a mud rampart, a wide ditch full of water, and a good covered way: for the reſt, it is unprovided with powder magazines, has no vaults, nor any kind of caſemate. Three leagues higher up on the Suriman is a cloſe battery intended to cover the harbour and town of Parambiro. It is called fort Zealand. A battery of the ſame kind, which they call Sommeswelt fort, covers the Commenwine at nearly the ſame diſtance. The forces of the colony conſiſt of its militia and twelve hundred regulars, one half of whoſe pay is ſupplied by the inhabitants, and the other by the company.

THIS number of men would be more than ſufficient if they had nothing to guard againſt but the efforts of the natives. The few ſavages, who endeavoured to keep poſſeſſion of places, that ſuited the Dutch, have been exterminated. The reſt kept retreating further into the inland parts, in proportion as they found the Europeans encroaching upon them; and live quietly in thoſe woods, which, by ſerving them as an aſylum, are become as dear to them as the country from which they have been driven.

BUT the colony has not the ſame degree of ſecurity with reſpect to the negroes. When theſe miſerable creatures, who are brought from Africa, are expoſed to ſale, they are placed one after another upon a table, and examined with the moſt minute attention of a ſurgeon employed by the government. According to his report, the prices of them are ſettled, and the money is uſually paid at the end of three weeks. The purchaſer, however, has four and twenty hours allowed him to judge from his own obſervation, of the goodneſs of his bargain. If within that time he is diſſatisfied

BOOK III.

fied with the choice he has made, he has a right to return what he has taken, without any ceremony or indemnification; provided he has not ſet his ſeal upon them. This ſeal is a ſilver plate on which are engraved the initials of his chriſtian and ſurname: after heating it, they apply it to the arm or breaſt of the ſlave, and the marks thus burned in can never be effaced. The uſe of this barbarous practice is to enable them to diſtinguiſh thoſe whoſe features are not ſufficiently characteriſed for European eyes.

NOTHING is more uncommon in the Dutch ſettlements than to ſee a ſlave made free. He cannot obtain his liberty but by becoming a chriſtian; and before they are authoriſed to adminiſter baptiſm to him, they muſt purchaſe letters of freedom, which coſt four hundred livres. (between 17*l.* and 18*l.* ſterling.) Security muſt alſo be given for his maintenance during life, leſt he ſhould become a burthen to the company, or ſhould be induced to increaſe the number of the enemies of the colony, which is already too great. When we add to all theſe expences the loſs of the original purchaſe money, we may ſafely venture to conclude, that the franchiſement of a ſlave cannot be common among a people with whom avarice is the ruling, if not the only, paſſion.

THE planters here are ſo far from giving way to theſe acts of humanity, that they have carried oppreſſion to infinitely greater lengths, than it has been extended to in the iſlands. The opportunities of deſertion on a continent of immenſe extent is, probably, the cauſe of this extraordinary barbarity towards the blacks. Upon the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion a ſlave is put to death by his maſter in the preſence of all his companions; but this is done without the knowledge of the white people, who might give evidence againſt them for ſo flagrant a breach

breach of the rights of ſociety. The blacks not being admitted to give teſtimony, are of no ſort of conſequence. The metropolis wink at this cruelty, and by its ſhameful connivance, riſques the loſs of an uſeful ſettlement. They have frequently had the ſtrongeſt reaſon to be apprehenſive of a revolution; but the danger was never ſo great nor ſo imminent as in 1763.

In the month of February, 1763, an inſurrection broke out, which by its example and conſequences might have produced the moſt fatal effects throughout the American ſettlements. Seventy-three blacks aſſembled in one houſe at Berbice, ſuddenly murdered their maſter, and ſet about the cry of liberty. At this ſound, courage and hope revived and animated the whole body of ſlaves. They joined to the number of nine thouſand, and in the firſt tranſports of their rage fell upon all the white people in their way; theſe, with the chief of the colony, were obliged to take refuge on board a brigantine at the lower port of the river. In the mean time five hundred men arrived from Surinam to their aſſiſtance. They made an attempt to land, and intrenched themſelves in an advantageous poſt, till the arrival of ſome troops from Europe.

Happily for the republic, the Engliſh at Barbadoes, who are in poſſeſſion of moſt of the plantations formed on the Poumaran, Demerary, and Eſſequebé, ſent in time a ſufficient force to keep the ſlaves on theſe three rivers in order; and by a ſtill more fortunate occurrence, the people at Surinam at this very time concluded a treaty they had on foot with the negroes, who had taken refuge in the neighbouring woods. Ignorant, as they probably were, of a commotion, which might have been ſo favourable to them, they conſented not to receive among them any fugitives of their own

BOOK III.

nation. This ſtipulation deprived the rebels of their principal reſource; and by ſuch a combination of unexpected events, they were reduced again to a ſtate of ſervitude. The greateſt part of them being without arms, they eagerly embraced the offer of a capitulation with their maſters. They have, however, given proofs of that inextinguiſhable principle prevailing in their ſouls, which never fails to reſiſt oppreſſion. The tranquillity of Dutch Guiana, like that of all other countries, where rebellions have once broke out, is more apparent then real. The ſeeds of treaſon are ripening in ſecret within the foreſts of Auka and Samaca.

In theſe deſerts, which are peopled with all the ſlaves who have fled from the yoke of the covetous Hollander, a ſpecies of republic has grown up, compoſed of fifteen or ſixteen thouſand inhabitants, divided into ſeveral villages, each of which chooſes a chief for itſelf. Theſe wandering clans fall unexpectedly ſometimes upon one ſide of the colony, ſometimes upon another, in order to carry off ſupplies for their own ſubſiſtence, and to lay waſte the wealth of their former tyrants. It is in vain that the troops are kept continually upon the watch to check or to ſurprize ſo dangerous an enemy. By means of private information, they contrive to eſcape every ſnare, and direct their march to thoſe parts which happen to be left defenceleſs. Conventions and treaties are no ſecurity againſt their attacks.

Reaſons why the Dutch ought to ſecure the poſſeſſion of their colonies, and to encouragethe produce of them.

It depends, however, upon the wiſdom and moderation of theſe very republicans, who have rendered the load of ſervitude ſo oppreſſive to the negroes, to prevent a general revolution, of which they would be the firſt victims. They have already been guilty of great overſights. They have not given to their American ſettlements, that attention they deſerved, although they have

have met with ſtrokes ſo ſevere, and ſo cloſely following upon each other, as ought to have opened their eyes. If they had not been blinded by the rapidity of their ſucceſs, they would have diſcovered the beginning of their ruin in the loſs of Brazil. Stript of that vaſt acquiſition, which in their hands might have become the firſt colony of the univerſe, and might have atoned for the weakneſs or inſufficiency of their territory in Europe, they ſaw themſelves reduced to the condition they were in before they had made this conqueſt, of being factors for other nations; and thus was created, in their maſs of real wealth, a void which hath never ſince been filled up.

THE conſequences of the act of navigation, paſſed in England, were not leſs fatal to the Dutch. From this time, that iſland ceaſing to be a tributary to the trade of the republic, became her rival, and in a ſhort time acquired a deciſive ſuperiority over her in Africa, Aſia, and America.

HAD other nations adopted the policy of Britain, Holland muſt have ſunk under the ſtroke. Happily for her, their kings knew not, or cared not for the proſperity of their people. Every government, however, in proportion as it has become more enlightened, has aſſumed to itſelf its own branches of commerce. Each ſtep that has been taken for this purpoſe, has been an additional check upon the Dutch; and we may preſume from the preſent ſtate of things, that ſooner or later every people will eſtabliſh a navigation for themſelves ſuited to the nature of their country, and to the extent of their abilities. To this period the courſe of events in all nations ſeems to tend, and whenſoever it ſhall arrive, the Dutch, who are indebted for their ſucceſs as much to the indolence and ignorance of their neighbours, as to their own oeconomy and experience, will

BOOK III.

will find themſelves reduced to their original ſtate of poverty.

It is not certainly in the power of human prudence to prevent this revolution; but there was no neceſſity to anticipate it, as the republic has done, by chooſing to interfere as a principal, in the troubles which ſo frequently have agitated Europe. The intereſted policy of our times would have afforded a ſufficient excuſe for the wars ſhe has commenced or ſuſtained for the ſake of her trade. But upon what principle can ſhe juſtify thoſe in which her exorbitant ambition, or ill-founded apprehenſions, have engaged her? She has been obliged to ſupport herſelf by immenſe loans: if we ſum up together all the debts ſeparately contracted by the ſtates-general, the provinces, and the towns, which are all equally public debts, we ſhall find they amount to two thouſand millions; (between 80 and 90 millions ſterl.) the intereſt of which, though reduced to two and a half per cent. has amazingly increaſed the load of taxes.

I SHALL leave it to others to examine whether theſe taxes have been laid on with judgment, and collected with due oeconomy. It is ſufficient here to remark, that they have had the effect of increaſing ſo conſiderably the prices of neceſſaries, and conſequently that of labour, that the induſtrious part of the nation have ſuffered ſeverely from them. The manufactures of wool, ſilk, gold, ſilver, and a variety of others, have ſunk after having ſtruggled for a long time under the growing weight of taxes and ſcarcity. When the ſpring equinox brings on at the ſame time high tides and the melting of the ſnow, a country is laid under water by the overflowing of the rivers. No ſooner does the increaſe of taxes raiſe the price of proviſions, than the workman, who pays more for his daily conſumption,

ſumption, without receiving any addition to his wages, forſakes the manufacture and workſhop. Holland has not preſerved any of its internal reſources of trade, but ſuch as were not expoſed to any foreign competition.

THE huſbandry of the republic, if we may be allowed to call it by that name, that is to ſay, the herring fiſhery, has ſcarcely ſuffered leſs. This fiſhery, which for a long time was entitled the gold mine of the ſtate, on account of the number of perſons who derived their ſubſiſtence, and even grew rich by it, is not only reduced to one-half, but the profits of it, as well thoſe of the whale fiſhery, are dwindled by degrees to nothing. Nor is it by advances of caſh, that thoſe who ſupport theſe two fiſheries, embark in the undertaking. The partnerſhips conſiſt of merchants, who furniſh the bottoms, the rigging, the utenſils and the ſtores. Their profit conſiſts almoſt entirely in the vent of theſe ſeveral merchandiſes: they were paid for them out of the produce of the fiſhery, which ſeldom yields more than is ſufficient to defray its expences. The impoſſibility there is in Holland of employing their numerous capitals to better advantage, has been the only cauſe of preſerving the remains of this ancient ſource of the public proſperity.

THE exceſſive taxes, which have ruined the manufactures of the republic, and reduced the profits of their fiſheries ſo low, has greatly confined their navigation. The Dutch have the materials for building at the firſt hand. They ſeldom croſs the ſea without a cargo. They live with the ſtricteſt ſobriety. The lightneſs of their ſhips in working, is a great ſaving in the numbers of their crews; and theſe crews are eaſily formed, and always kept in the greateſt perfection, and at a ſmall expence, from the multitude of ſailors ſwarming in a country which conſiſts of nothing elſe but ſea and ſhore. Notwithſtanding all theſe advantages, which are further

BOOK III.

ther increaſed by the low rate of money, they have been forced to ſhare the carrying trade of Europe with Sweden, Denmark, and eſpecially the Hamburghers, with whom the neceſſary requiſites for navigation are not encumbered with the ſame impoſitions.

WITH the freights have diminiſhed the commiſſions which uſed to be ſent to the United Provinces. When Holland was become a great ſtaple, merchandiſe was ſent thither from all parts, as to the market, where the ſale of them was moſt ready, ſure, and advantageous. Foreign merchants were the more ready oftentimes to ſend them thither, as they obtained at an eaſy rate credit to the amount of two-thirds, or even three-fourths, of the value of their goods. This management inſured to the Dutch the double advantage, of employing their capitals without riſque, and gaining commiſſion beſides. The gains of commerce were at that time ſo conſiderable, that they could eaſily bear theſe charges: they are now ſo greatly leſſened, ſince experience has multiplied the number of adventurers, that the ſeller is obliged to conduct his commodity himſelf to the conſumer, without the intervention of any agent. But if upon certain occaſions an agent muſt be employed, they will prefer, *cæteris paribus*; Hamburgh, where commodities pay a duty only of one per cent. for import and export, to Holland, where they pay five.

THE republic hath loſt likewiſe the trade of inſurance, which ſhe had in a manner monopolized formerly. It was in her ports that all the nations of Europe uſed to inſure their freights, to the great profit of the inſurers, who by dividing and multiplying their riſques, ſeldom failed of enriching themſelves. In proportion as the ſpirit of inquiry introduced itſelf into all our ideas, whether of philoſophy or oeconomy, the utility

utility of theſe ſpeculations became univerſally known. The practice became familiar and general; and what other nations gained by it, was of courſe loſt to Holland.

FROM theſe obſervations it is evident, that all the branches of commerce the republic was in poſſeſſion of, have been very greatly diminiſhed. Perhaps the greater part of them would have been annihilated, if the extent of her credit, and her extraordinary oeconomy, had not enabled her to be ſatisfied with a profit of no more than three per cent. which we look upon to be the value of the product upon all her trade. The deficiency has been made up to them by veſting their money in the Engliſh, French, Auſtrian, Saxon, Daniſh, and even Ruſſian funds, the amount of which upon the whole, is about ſixteen hundred millions of livres. (about 70 millions ſterling.)

FORMERLY the ſtate made this branch of commerce unlawful, which is now become the moſt conſiderable of any. Had the law been obſerved, the ſums they have lent to foreigners would have lain unemployed at home; their capitals for the uſe of trade being already ſo large, that the leaſt addition to them, ſo far from giving an advantage, would become detrimental, by making the amount too great for uſe. The ſuperfluity of money would immediately have brought the United Provinces to that period, in which exceſs of wealth begets poverty. Millions of opulent perſons, in the midſt of their pleaſures, would not have had wherewithal to ſupport themſelves.

THE contrary practice has been the principal reſource of the republic. The money ſhe has lent to neighbouring nations, has procured her an annual balance in her favour, by the revenue accruing from it. The credit is always the ſame, and produces always the ſame intereſt.

BOOK II.

WE ſhall not preſume to determine how long the Dutch will continue to enjoy ſo comfortable a ſituation. Experience authoriſes us only to declare, that all governments, which have unfortunately for the people adopted the deteſtable ſyſtem of borrowing, will ſooner or later be forced to give it up; and the abuſe they have made of it will moſt probably oblige them to defraud their creditors. Whenever the republic ſhall be reduced to this ſtate, her great reſource will be in agriculture.

THIS, though it is capable of improvement in the country of Breda, Bois-le-Duc, Zutphen, and Gueldres, can never become very conſiderable. The territory belonging to the United Provinces is ſo ſmall, that it will almoſt juſtify the opinion of a ſultan, who, ſeeing with what obſtinacy the Dutch and Spaniards diſputed with each other the poſſeſſion of it, declared, if it belonged to him, he would order his pioneers to throw it into the ſea. The ſoil is good for nothing but fiſh, which, before the Dutch, were the only inhabitants of it. It has been ſaid with as much truth as energy, that the four elements were but in embryo there. The produce of the lands will never be ſufficient to maintain one fourth part of the two millions, that inhabit it at this time. It cannot, therefore, be, by her European poſſeſions, that the republic can expect to be preſerved. She may depend with more reaſon upon thoſe in America.

THE countries ſhe holds in that part of the world are all of them under the influence of monopolies. Her iſlands as well as her factories in America, depend upon the Weſt-India company, the credit of which, ſince the loſs of Brazil, has ſunk ſo prodigiouſly, that their ſtock ſells at near ſixty *per cent.* under par.

SURINAM, which was taken by ſome private ſhips fitted out in Zealand, was ceded by the ſtates of that province

vince to the ſame company, who having ſtill their imagination filled with the idea of their ancient grandeur, undertook without heſitation, the management of that territory. Upon ſerious reflection they found that the expence which was neceſſary to put it in a ſtate to yield them any advantage, was far too great for their exhauſted finances. They gave up a third of their property to the city of Amſterdam, and another third to an opulent individual of the name of Daarſſens. The two other colonies on the continent are likewiſe under the controul of trading companies, to which they owe their foundation.

NOT one of theſe ſocieties is in poſſeſſion of a ſingle ſhip, nor carries on any ſort of trade. The navigation to the American ſettlements is equally open to every member of the community, under this whimſical and oppreſſive condition, however, that every ſhip bound for Surinam and Berbice, ſhall ſail from Amſterdam; and thoſe for Eſſequebé from Zealand, and that they ſhall return to the ſame ports from which they ſailed. The buſineſs of the companies is confined to the government and the defence of the territories ſubmitted to their juriſdiction; and to enable them to ſupport theſe expences, the republic authoriſes them to impoſe taxes of different kinds,

ALL commodities imported into the colonies, or exported from them, pay large duties. Slaves, on their arrival, are ſubject to much larger. There is a poll-tax upon blacks and whites from the age of three years. None but foreigners are exempted from this ſhameful tribute; and this exemption is not taken off but by a reſidence of more than ten years. When an eſtate is transferred, both the ſeller and the purchaſer are ſubject to a conſiderable fine. Every manufacturer, be his induſtry ever ſo great, is obliged to give in an account of his

BOOK III.

his gains upon oath, and the impoſt is regulated agreeable to the amount of his profits. After the public expences are defrayed, the remainder of the revenue, which the weakneſs or corruption of the ſovereign power has ſuffered to become too exorbitant is divided among the members of the different companies.

EVERY wiſe government has diſcovered the ill effect of leaving their American poſſeſſions in the hands of particular ſocieties, whoſe private intereſts do not always coincide with that of the public. They have conſidered their ſubjects in the new world as having an equal right with thoſe of the old to be governed not by partial but by general laws. They have been of opinion, that their colonies would make a more rapid progreſs under the immediate protection of the ſtate, than under that of a middle-agent. The event has demonſtrated more or leſs in all caſes the juſtneſs of theſe reflections. Holland is the only power which has not adopted ſo ſimple and rational a plan; though every circumſtance concurred to make it more neceſſary to her than to other ſtates.

HER ſettlements are without any defence againſt enemies, which either ambition or revenge may raiſe up againſt her; and are in continual danger of inſurrections from the cruelty with which the ſlaves are treated. Their productions, all of which ought to be carried home to the metropolis, are every day ſmuggled into foreign colonies in North-America. The diſinclination, which a people merely commercial naturally have to the improvement of land is ſtregthened in the colonies by the abuſes inſeparable from the form of government eſtabliſhed there. The means of creating a new order of things in them are not within the reach of the authority, protection, or activity of a private ſociety. Revolutions of ſuch magnitude cannot be brought about

about but by the immediate ſuperintendence of the ſtate. BOOK III.

If the republic adopts the reſolution, which her deareſt intereſts require, ſhe will ceaſe to depend ſolely for her exiſtence upon a precarious induſtry, ſome branches of which ſhe is every day loſing, and which, ſooner or later, ſhe will loſe entirely. Her colonies, which comprehend every advantage, that a mercantile and landed nation can deſire, will furniſh productions, the whole profits and property of which will center in her. By her territorial acquiſitions ſhe will be enabled in every market to rival thoſe nations, whoſe commodities ſhe formerly ſerved only to convey. In a word, Holland will ceaſe to be a warehouſe, and become a nation. She will find in America that conſiſtence, which Europe has denied her. It remains to ſee, if Denmark, the only northern power, that has extended its trade and ſovereignty into the new world has any reaſonable foundation to conceive hopes of aggrandizing itſelf by them.

Denmark and Norway, which are at preſent united under the ſame government, formed in the eighth century two different ſtates. While the former ſignalized itſelf by the conqueſt of England, and other bold enterpriſes, the latter peopled the Orcades, Fero and Iceland. Urged by that reſtleſs ſpirit, which had always actuated their anceſtors, the Scandinavians, this active nation ſo early as in the ninth century formed an eſtabliſhment in Greenland, which country there is good reaſon to ſuppoſe, is attached to the American continent. It is even thought, notwithſtanding the darkneſs which prevails over all the hiſtorical records of the north, that there are ſufficient traces to induce a belief that their navigators in the eleventh century were hardy enough to penetrate as far as the coaſts of Labrador

Daniſh ſettlement at St Thomas, St John, and Santa Cruz

BOOK III.

Labrador and Newfoundland, and that they left ſome ſmall colonies on them. Hence it is probable that the Norwegians have a right to diſpute with Columbus the glory of having diſcovered the new world; at leaſt, if thoſe may be ſaid to have made the diſcovery who were there without knowing it.

THE wars which Norway had to ſuſtain, till the time it became united to Denmark; the difficulties, which the government oppoſed to its navigation; the ſtate of oblivion and inaction into which this enterpriſing nation fell, not only loſt it its colonies in Greenland, but alſo whatever ſettlements or connections it might have had on the coaſts of America.

It was not till more than a century after the Genoeſe navigator had begun the conqueſt of that part of the world under the Spaniſh banner, that the Danes and Norwegians, who were then become one nation, caſt their eyes upon that hemiſphere, which was nearer to them than to any of thoſe nations, who had already poſſeſſed themſelves of different parts of it. They choſe, however, to make their way into into it by the ſhorteſt courſe, and therefore in 1619 ſent captain Munk to find out a paſſage by the north-weſt into the pacific ocean. His expedition was attended with as little ſucceſs as thoſe of many other navigators, both before and after him.

It may be preſumed, that a diſappointment in their firſt attempt would not entirely have diſguſted the Danes; and that they would have continued their American expeditions till they had ſucceeded in forming ſome ſettlements, that might have rewarded them for their trouble. If they loſt ſight of thoſe diſtant regions, it was, becauſe they were forced to it by wars in Europe, which their imprudence as well as their weakneſs had brought upon them. Succeſſive loſſes reduced them to a deſperate ſtate, from which they would never have recovered,

had

had not the aſſiſtance of Holland and the ſteady perſeverance of the citizens of Copenhagen procured them a peace in 1660, leſs humiliating and leſs deſtructive than they had reaſon to fear.

THE government ſeized the firſt moment of tranquillity to probe the wounds of the ſtate. Like all other Gothic governments, it was divided between an elective chief, the nobility or ſenate, and the commons. The king enjoyed no other pre-eminence than that of preſiding in the ſenate and commanding the army. In the intervals between the Diets, the government was in the hands of the ſenate: but all great affairs were referred to the Diets themſelves, which were compoſed of the clergy, nobility, and commonalty.

THOUGH this conſtitution is formed upon the model of liberty, no country was leſs free than that of Denmark. The clergy had forfeited their influence from the time of the reformation. The burgeſſes had not yet acquired wealth ſufficient to make them conſiderable. Theſe two orders were overwhelmed by that of the nobility, which was ſtill influenced by the original feudal ſpirit, that reduces every thing to force. The critical ſituation of the affairs of Denmark did not inſpire this body of men with that juſtice or moderation which the circumſtances of the time required. They refuſed to contribute their proportion to the public expences, and by this refuſal exaſperated the members of the Diet. Theſe, in the exceſs of their reſentment inveſted the king with an abſolute, unlimited power; and the nobles, who had driven them to this act of deſperation, found themſelves obliged to follow their example.

AFTER this revolution, the moſt imprudent, and the moſt ſingular that ever occurred in the annals of hiſtory, the Danes fell into a lethargy. To thoſe great con-

BOOK III.

vulſions, which are occaſioned by the clashing of important rights, ſucceeded the deluſive tranquillity of ſervitude. A nation, which had filled the ſcene for ſeveral ages, appeared no more on the theatre of the world. In 1671, it juſt recovered ſo far from the trance, into which the acceſs of deſpotiſm had thrown it, as to look abroad and take poſſeſſion of a little American iſland, known by the name of St. Thomas.

THIS iſland, the fartheſt of the Caribbees, towards the weſt, was totally uninhabited, when the Danes undertook to form a ſettlement upon it. They were at firſt oppoſed by the Engliſh, under pretence that ſome emigrants of that nation had formerly begun to clear it. The Britiſh miniſtry ſtopt the progreſs of this interference; and the colony were left to form plantations of ſugar, ſuch as a ſandy ſoil of no greater extent than five leagues in length, and two and a half in breadth would admit of.

So ſmall a cultivation would never have given any importance to the iſland of St. Thomas; but the ſea has hollowed out from its coaſt an excellent harbour, in which fifty ſhips may ride with ſecurity. So ſignal an advantage attracted both the Engliſh and French Buccaneers, who were deſirous of exempting their booty from the duties they were ſubject to pay in the ſettlements belonging to their own nations. Whenever they had taken their prizes in the lower latitudes, from which they could not make the windward iſlands, they put into that of St. Thomas to diſpoſe of them. It was alſo the aſylum of all merchant ſhips which frequented it as a neutral port in time of war. It was the mart, where the neighbouring colonies bartered their reſpective commodities, which they could not do elſewhere with ſo much eaſe and ſafety. It was the port from which they continually diſpatched veſſels richly

richly laden to carry on a clandeſtine trade with the Spaniſh coaſts, in return for which they brought back conſiderable quantities of metal and merchandiſes of great value. In a word, St. Thomas was a market of very great conſequence.

DENMARK, however, reaped no advantage from this rapid circulation. The perſons, who enriched themſelves, were foreigners, who carried their wealth to other ſituations. The metropolis had no other communication with its colony than by a ſingle ſhip ſent out annually to Africa to purchaſe ſlaves, which being ſold in America, the ſhip returned home laden with the productions of that country. In 1719, their traffic increaſed by the clearing of the iſland of St. John, which is adjacent to St. Thomas, but not half ſo large. Theſe ſlender beginnings would have required the addition of Crab iſland, or Bourriquen, where they had attempted to form a ſettlement two years before.

THIS iſland, which is from eight to ten leagues in circumference, has a conſiderable number of hills; but they are neither barren, ſteep, nor very high. The ſoil of the plains and vallies, which run between them, ſeems to be very fruitful; and is watered by a number of ſprings, the water of which is ſaid to be excellent. Nature, at the ſame time that ſhe has denied it a harbour, has made it amends by a multitude of the fineſt bays, that can be conceived. One can ſcarce ſtir a ſtep without finding ſome remains of plantations, rows of orange and lemon trees, which make it evident, that the Spaniards of Porto-Rico, who are not further diſtant than five or ſix leagues, had formerly ſettled there.

THE Engliſh, obſerving that ſo promiſing an iſland was without inhabitants, began to raiſe ſome plantations there towards the end of the laſt century; but they

BOOK III.

had not time to reap the fruit of their labour. They were ſurprized by the Spaniardt, who murdered all the men, and carried off the women and children to Porto Rico. This accident did not deter the Danes from making ſome attempts to ſettle there in 1717. But the ſubjects of Great-Britain reclaiming their ancient rights, ſent thither ſome adventurers, who were at firſt plundered, and ſoon after driven off by the Spaniards. The jealouſy of theſe American tyrants extends, even to the prohibiting of fiſhing boats, to approach any ſhore where they have a right of poſſeſſion, though they do not exerciſe it. Too idle to proſecute cultivation, too ſuſpicious to admit induſtrious neighbours, they condemn the Crab iſland to eternal ſolitude; they will neither inhabit it themſelves, nor ſuffer any other nation to inhabit it. Such an exertion of excluſive ſovereignty, has obliged Denmark to give up this iſland for that of Santa Cruz.

SANTA CRUZ had a better title to become an object of national ambition. It is eighteen leagues in length, and from three to four in breadth. In 1643 it was inhabited by Dutch and Engliſh. Their rivalſhip in trade ſoon made them enemies to each other. In 1646, after an obſtinate and bloody engagement the Dutch were beat, and obliged to quit a ſpot upon which they had formed great expectations. The conquerors were employed in ſecuring the conſequences of their victory; when in 1650, they were attacked and driven out in their turn by twelve hundred Spaniards, brought over thither in fire-ſhips. The triumph of theſe laſted but a few months. The remains of that numerous body, which were left for the defence of the iſland, ſurrendered without reſiſtance to a hundred and ſixty French, who had embarked from St. Chriſtopher's to make themſelves maſters of the iſland.

THESE

THESE new inhabitants loſt no time to make themſelves acquainted with a country ſo much in requeſt. In a ſoil, in other reſpects excellent, they found only one river of a moderate ſize, which gliding gently almoſt on a level with the ſea, though a flat country, furniſhed only a brackiſh water. Two or three ſprings, which they found in the innermoſt parts of the iſland, made but feeble amends for this defect. The ponds were for the moſt-part dry. The conſtruction of reſervoirs required time. Nor was the climate more inviting to the new inhabitants. The iſland being flat, and covered with old trees, ſcarcely afforded an opportunity for the winds to carry off the poiſonous vapours, with which its moraſſes clogged the atmoſphere. There was but one remedy for this inconvenience; which was to burn the woods. The French ſet fire to them without delay; and getting on board their ſhips, became ſpectators from the ſea for ſeveral months of the conflagration they had raiſed in the iſland. As ſoon as the flames were extinguiſhed, they went on ſhore again.

THEY found the ſoil fertile beyond belief. Tobacco, cotton, arnotto, indigo, and ſugar, flouriſhed equally in it. So rapid was the progreſs of this colony, that in eleven years from its commencement, there were upon it eight hundred and twenty-two white perſons, with a proportionable number of ſlaves. It was riſing by haſty ſtrides to a degree of proſperity, which would have eclipſed the moſt flouriſhing ſettlements of the French nation, when ſuch obſtacles were thrown in the way of its activity as made its motions retrogade. Its decay was as ſudden as its riſe. In 1696 there were no more than one hundred and forty-ſeven men, with their wives and children, and ſix hundred and twenty-three blacks remaining; and theſe were tranſported from hence to St. Domingo.

BOOK III.

WRITERS, who take it for granted that the court of Verſailles is always governed in its deciſions by the moſt comprehenſive views of profound policy, have ſuppoſed, that the neglect of Santa Cruz, was the reſult of a determination to abandon the ſmall iſlands, in order to unite all the ſtrength, induſtry, and population in the large ones: but this is a miſtaken notion. The reſolution did not take its riſe from the court, but from the farmers of the revenues, who found, that the contraband trade of Santa Cruz with St. Thomas, was detrimental to their intereſts. The ſpirit of finance has in all times been injurious to commerce; it has deſtroyed the womb in which it was bred. Santa Cruz continued without inhabitants and without cultivation till 1733, when it was ſold by France to Denmark for 738,000 livres, (about 32,000*l.* ſterling).

Conduct of Denmark towards its iſlands.

THIS northern power ſeemed likely to take deep root in America. Unfortunately ſhe laid her plantations under the yoke of excluſive privileges. Induſtrious people of all ſects, particularly Moravians, ſtrove in vain to overcome this great difficulty. Many attempts were made to reconcile the intereſts of the coloniſts and their oppreſſors, but without ſucceſs. The two parties kept up a continual ſtruggle of animoſity, not of induſtry. At length the government, with a moderation not to be expected from its conſtitution, purchaſed in 1754 the privileges and effects of the company. The price was fixed at 9,900,000 livres, (about 433,000*l.* ſterling) part of which was paid down, and the remainder in bills upon the treaſury, bearing intereſt. From this time the navigation to the iſlands was opened to all the ſubjects of the Daniſh dominions.

THE

THE rapaciouſneſs of the treaſury unluckily prevented the advantage which this arrangement would otherwiſe have produced. Indeed the national productions and merchandiſe, in ſhort, whatever they could draw from the firſt hand, and put on board Dutch veſſels were to be ſhipped from the metropolis free of all duties; but for all manufactures that did not fall under theſe deſcriptions, they demanded a tax of four per cent. All imports into the colonies paid five per cent. and all exports, ſix. Of American productions, what was conſumed in the metropolis, had two and a half per cent. laid upon it, and what was carried to foreign markets had one.

AT the ſame time that the trade to the iſlands recovered its natural independence, at the expence of theſe burthenſome reſtrictions, that to Africa, which is the baſis of it, was likewiſe laid open. The government had above a century before purchaſed of the king of Aquambou, the two forts of Fredericſburg and Chriſtianſburg, ſituated on the Gold Coaſt at a ſmall diſtance from each other. The company, in virtue of its charter, had the ſole poſſeſſion of them; and exerciſed its privileges with that barbarity, of which the politeſt European nations have ſet the example in theſe devoted climates. Only one of its agents had the reſolution to renounce thoſe cruelties, which cuſtom had given a ſanction to. So great was the reputation of his humanity, and the confidence repoſed in his probity, that the blacks would come from the diſtance of a hundred leagues to ſee him. The ſovereign of a diſtant country ſent his daughter to him with preſents of gold and ſlaves, that Schilderop (for ſo this European, thus revered through all the coaſts of Nigritia, was called) might give him a grandſon. O virtue! ſtill doſt thou exiſt in the ſouls of theſe wretched beings, condemned

BOOK III.

to dwell with tygers, or groan beneath the yoke of their own ſpecies! They yet have hearts ſuſceptible of the ſoft impreſſions of humanity and beneficence! Juſt and virtuous Dane! What monarch ever received ſo pure, ſo glorious a homage, as thy nation has ſeen thee enjoy? And where? Upon a ſea, upon a continent degraded for ever by an infamous traffic, of men exchanged for arms, and children ſold by their parents, of crimes and misfortunes, carried on through two centuries. We cannot ſufficiently lament ſuch horrors, and if we could, our lamentations would be uſeleſs.

THE excluſive privilege of purchaſing negroes, has, however, been aboliſhed in Denmark as in other ſtates. All the ſubjects of this commercial nation are permitted to buy men in Africa. They pay only eighteen livres (between 15*s.* and 16*s.*) a head for every one they carry into America. Thirty thouſand ſlaves, including all ages and each ſex, are employed already in their plantations, on which a poll-tax is laid of four livres ten ſols, (about 4*s.*) The produce of their labours loads forty veſſels, from one hundred and twenty to three hundred tons burthen. The plantations, which pay to the treaſury an annual rent of nine livres (about 8*s.*) for every thouſand feet ſquare, furniſh to the mother country a little coffee and ginger; ſome wood for inlaying; eight hundred bales of cotton, which are chiefly carried to foreign markets, and fourteen millions weight of raw ſugar, four-fifths of which are conſumed in the metropolis, and the reſt is ſold in the Baltic, or introduced into Germany by the way of Altena. Santa Cruz, though the moſt modern of all the Daniſh ſettlements, furniſhes five-ſevenths of this produce.

THIS iſland is divided into three hundred and fifty plantations by lines, which interſect each other at right angles.

angles. Each plantation contains one hundred and fifty acres, of forty thouſand ſquare feet each; ſo that it may occupy a ſpace of twelve hundred common feet in length, by eight hundred in breadth. Two-thirds of this tract are fit for the growth of ſugar, and the proprietor may occupy fourſcore acres at a time, each of which will yield, one year with another, ſixteen quintals of ſugar without reckoning the molaſſes. The remainder may be employed in other cultivations leſs lucrative. When the iſland comes to be entirely cleared, ſome towns may be built upon it; at preſent it has only the village of Chriſtianſtadt, built under the fort, which defends the principal harbour.

Reaſons why Denmark ought to appropriate to herſelf the produce of all her iſlands.

DENMARK cannot be ignorant, that the riches which begin to flow from her colonies, do not belong entirely to herſelf. A great part goes to the Engliſh and Dutch, who, without living upon the iſlands, have formed the beſt plantations in them. New England ſupplies them with wood, cattle, and meal, and receives in exchange molaſſes and other commodities. They are obliged likewiſe to import their wines, linens, and ſilks. Even India is concerned in this trade. Upon a ſtrict calculation, perhaps, it might appear, that what remains to the proprietors, after the commiſſion, freight, and duties are paid, is a very inſignificant ſhare. The ſituation of Denmark does not admit of her looking with indifference upon ſuch a diſadvantage. Every thing conſpires to induce her to take proper meaſures for ſecuring to herſelf the entire profits of her American poſſeſſions.

THE Daniſh territories in Europe were formerly independent of each other. Revolutions of a ſingular nature have united them into one kingdom. In the center of this heterogeneous compoſition are ſome iſlands, the principal of which is called Zealand. It has an excellent

BOOK III.

lent port, which in the eleventh century was but a little fiſhing town; it became a place of importance in the thirteenth, in the fifteenth, the capital of the kingdom, and ſince the fire in 1728, which conſumed ſixteen hundred and fifty houſes, a handſome city. To the ſouth of theſe iſlands is that long and narrow peninſula, which the ancients called the Cimbrian Cherſoneſus. Jutland, Sleſwick and Holſtein, the moſt important and extenſive parts of this peninſula have been ſucceſſively added to the Daniſh dominions. They have been more or leſs flouriſhing, in proportion as thay have felt the effects of the unſettled temper of the ocean, which ſometimes retires from their coaſts, and ſometimes overwhelms them. In theſe countries, as well as in thoſe of Oldenburgh and Delmenhorſt, which are ſubject to the ſame power, one may ſee a perpetual ſtruggle between the inhabitants and the ſea, ſo well ſuſtained on each part, that the ſucceſs has always been equal. The inhabitants of ſuch a country will be free from the moment they feel that they are not ſo. Mariners, iſlanders, and mountaineers, will not long remain under the diſgrace of ſervitude.

Nor is Norway, which conſtitutes part of the Daniſh dominions, more adapted to ſervitude. It is covered with ſtones or rocks, and interſected by chains of barren mountains. Lapland contains only a few wild people, either ſettled upon the ſea-coaſts, for the ſake of fiſhing, or wandering through frightful deſerts, and ſubſiſting by the chace, by their furs and their rein-deer. Iceland is a miſerable country, which has been many times overturned by volcanoes and earthquakes, and conceals within its bowels a quantity of combuſtible matter, which in an inſtant may reduce it to a heap of aſhes. With reſpect to Greenland, which the common people look upon as an iſland, and which geographers conſider as united towards

towards the weſt to the American continent, it is a vaſt and barren country, condemned by nature to be eternally covered with ſnow. If ever theſe countries ſhould become populous, they would be independent of each other, and of the king of Denmark, who thinks at preſent that he rules over their wild inhabitants, becauſe he calls himſelf their king, while they know nothing of the matter.

The climate of the Daniſh iſlands in Europe is not ſo ſevere as might be conjectured from the latitude they lie in. If the navigation of the gulfs, which ſurround them, is ſometimes interrupted, it is not ſo much by ice formed there, as by what is driven thither by the winds, and by degrees collects into a maſs. All the provinces which make part of the German continent, except Jutland, partake of the German temperature. The cold is very moderate even on the coaſts of Norway. It rains there often during the winter, and the port of Berghen is ſcarcely once cloſed by ice, while that of Amſterdam, Lubec, and Hamburgh, is ſhut up ten times in the courſe of the year. It is true, that this advantage is dearly purchaſed by thick and perpetual fogs, which make Denmark a diſagreeable and melancholy reſidence, and its inhabitants gloomy and low-ſpirited.

The population of this empire is not proportioned to its extent. In the earlier ages it was ruined by continual emigrations. The piratical enterpriſes, which ſucceeded to theſe, kept their numbers from increaſing; and a total want of order and government put it out of their power to remedy evils of ſuch magnitude and importance. The double tyranny of the prince over one order of his ſubjects, who fancy themſelves to be free, under the title of nobles, and of the nobility over a people entirely deprived of liberty, extinguiſhes even the hopes of

BOOK III.

of an increaſe of population. The bills of mortality of all the ſtates of Denmark, excepting Iceland, taken together make the deaths in 1771 amount only to 55,125; ſo that upon the calculation of thirty-two living to one dead perſon, the whole number of inhabitants does not amount to more than 1,764,000.

INDEPENDENT of many other cauſes, the weight of impoſts is a great obſtacle to their proſperity. There are fixed taxes payable on land, arbitrary ones collected by way of capitation, and daily ones levied on conſumption. This oppreſſion is the more unjuſt, as the crown poſſeſſes a very conſiderable domain, and has likewiſe a certain reſource in the ſtraits of the ſound. Six thouſand nine hundred and thirty ſhips, which, if we may judge from the accounts of the year 1768, annually paſs into, or out of the Baltic, pay at the entrance of that ſea about one *per cent.* upon all the commodities they are laden with. This ſpecies of tribute, which though difficult to raiſe, brings into the ſtate two millions, five hundred thouſand livres, (near 110,000*l.* ſterling.) is received in the bay of Elſinoor, under the guns of the caſtle of Cronenburg. It is aſtoniſhing, that the ſituation of this bay and that of Copenhagen, ſhould not have ſuggeſted the idea of forming a ſtaple here, where all the commercial nations of the north and ſouth might meet and exchange the produce of their climates and their induſtry.

WITH the funds ariſing from tributes, domains, cuſtoms, and foreign ſubſidies, this ſtate maintains an army of twenty-five thouſand men, which is compoſed entirely of foreigners, and paſſes for the very worſt militia in Europe. On the other hand, its fleet is in the higheſt reputation. It conſiſts of thirty-two ſhips of the line, fifteen or ſixteen frigates, and ſome galleys, the uſe of which,

which, though wiſely prohibited in other parts, cannot be avoided on the coaſts of the Baltic, which are for the moſt part inacceſſible to veſſels of other kinds. Twenty-four thouſand regiſtered ſeamen, moſt of whom are continually employed, form a certain reſource for their navy. To their military expences, the government has of late years added others for the encouragement of manufactures and arts. If we add to theſe, four millions of livres (175,000*l.* ſterling.) for the neceſſary expences and amuſements of the court, and about the ſame ſum for the intereſt of the national debt, amounting to about ſeventy millions. (about 3,062,000*l.* ſterling.) We ſhall account for the diſpoſition of about twenty-three millions of livres, (about 1,006,000*l.* ſterling.) which form the revenue of the crown.

If it was with a view of ſecuring theſe ſeveral branches, that the government, in 1736, prohibited the uſe of jewels, and gold and ſilver ſtuffs, we may venture to ſay, there were plainer and eaſier means to be uſed for that purpoſe. They ſhould have removed a multitude of difficulties, which clog the commercial intercourſe of the citizens, and hinder a free communication between the different parts of the kingdom. The whale fiſhery, the Greenland and Iceland trade, once reſcued from the bondage of monopolies, and that of the iſlands of Fero given up by the king, would have been purſued with new zeal. Their foreign connections would have received equal improvement if the Barbary company had been ſuppreſt, and all the members of the ſtate had been releaſed from the obligation, which was impoſed upon them in 1726, to buy their wine, ſalt, brandy, and tobacco, at Copenhagen.

In the preſent ſtate of affairs, their exportations are but ſmall. In the provinces on the German continent, they conſiſt of five or ſix thouſand beeves, three or four thouſand

BOOK III.

thouſand horſes, fit for cavalry, and ſome rye, which is ſold to the Swedes and Dutch. For ſome years paſt, Denmark has conſumed all the wheat, which Fionia and Alſen uſed to export to other nations. Thoſe two iſlands, as well as Zealand, have now no other traffic but in thoſe magnificent harneſſes, which are purchaſed at ſo dear a rate by all who love fine horſes. The trade of Norway conſiſts of herrings, timber, maſts, tar, and iron. Lapland and Greenland produce furs. From Iceland they get cod, whale blubber, ſeals, and manatees, ſulphur, and that luxurious down ſo celebrated under the name of eider-down.

We ſhall cloſe here the details, into which the commerce of Denmark has neceſſarily led us; and which are ſufficient to convince that power, that nothing can contribute ſo much to her intereſts as having the ſole poſſeſſion and traffic of all the productions of her American iſlands. The more her poſſeſſions are limited in the new world, as they always will be within the torrid zone, the more attentive ought ſhe to be, not to let any of the advantages ſhe might draw from them eſcape her. In a ſtate of mediocrity, the leaſt negligence is attended with ſerious conſequences. We ſhall preſently have occaſion to obſerve, that nations which are poſſeſſed even of extenſive and rich territories, do not commit faults with impunity.

END OF THE THIRD BOOK.

BOOK

BOOK IV.

Settlement of the French in the American iſlands.

BOOK IV.

FRANCE, ever ſince the fatal cataſtrophe of the aſſaſſination of the beſt of her kings, had been in perpetual confuſion, from the caprices of an intriguing queen, the oppreſſions of a rapacious ſtranger, and the ſchemes of a weak-minded favourite. A deſpotic miniſter began to enſlave the natives; when ſome of her ſailors, excited as much by the deſire of independence, as by the allurement of riches, turned ſail towards the Leeward iſlands, in hopes of making themſelves maſters of the Spaniſh veſſels that frequented thoſe ſeas. Their courage had been ſucceſsful on many occaſions; but they were at laſt obliged, in order to refit, to ſeek for an aſylum, which they found at St. Chriſtopher's. This iſland appeared to them a proper place for ſecuring the ſucceſs of their expeditions, and they were, therefore, deſirous of procuring a ſettlement upon it. Demambuc, their chief, not only obtained leave to ſettle there, but likewiſe to extend as far as he would or could, in the great Archipelago of America. Government required for this permiſſion

First expeditions of the French to the iſlands.

BOOK IV.

permiſſion merely, without giving any aſſiſtance to the ſcheme, or encouraging it with any protection, a twentieth part of the produce of every colony that might be founded.

The French iſlands languiſh under excluſive privileges.

A COMPANY was formed in 1626, in order to reap the benefit of this conceſſion. Such was the cuſtom of thoſe times, when trade and navigation were yet in too weak a ſtate to be intruſted to private hands. This company obtained the greateſt privileges. The government gave them the property of all the iſlands they ſhould cultivate, and impowered them to exact a hundred weight of tobacco, or fifty pounds of cotton, of every inhabitant, from ſixteen to ſixty years of age. They were likewiſe to enjoy an excluſive right of buying and ſelling. A capital of forty-five thouſand livres (1,968*l.* 15*s.*) only, and which was never increaſed to three times that ſum, procured them all theſe advantages.

IT ſeemed impoſſible to effect any greater matters with inadequate means. Yet, ſwarms of bold and enterpriſing men poured out from St. Chriſtopher's, who hoiſted the French flag in the neighbouring iſlands. Had the company which excited this ſpirit of invaſion by a few privileges, acted upon a conſiſtent and rational plant the ſtate muſt ſoon have reaped ſome advantage from this reſtleſs diſpoſition. But unfortunately an inordinate thirſt of gain made them become unjuſt and cruel; a fate that ever did, and ever will attend monopolizers.

THE Dutch, apprized of this tyranny, came and offered proviſions and merchandiſe on far more moderate terms, and made propoſals which were readily accepted. This laid the foundation of a connection between thoſe republicans and the coloniſts, that could never afterwards be broken; and formed a competition, not only fatal to the

the company in the new world, where it prevented the ſale of their cargoes, but even purſued them in all the markets in Europe, where the interlopers underſold all the produce of the French iſlands. Diſcouraged by theſe deſerved diſappointments, the company ſunk into a total inaction, which deprived them of moſt of their emoluments, without leſſening any of their expences. In vain did the government remit the ſtipulated reſerve of the twentieth part of the profit; this indulgence was not ſufficient to reſtore their activity. Some of the proprietors were of opinion that by renouncing the deſtructive principles which had been hitherto adopted, they might ſtill recover the ground they had loſt: but the greater number thought it impracticable, maugre all their advantages, to cope with ſuch frugal private traders as their rivals were. This opinion brought on a revolution. The company, to prevent their total ruin, and that they might not ſink under the weight of their engagements, put their poſſeſſions up to auction: which were moſtly bought up by their reſpective governors.

In 1649, Boiſſeret purchaſed, for ſeventy-three thouſand livres, (3,193*l.* 15*s.*) Guadalupe, Marigalante, the iſland called *the Saints*, and all the effects belonging to the company on theſe ſeveral iſlands: he afterwards parted with half in favour of Houel his brother-in-law. In 1650, Duparquet paid but ſixty thouſand livres (2,625*l.*) for Martinico, St. Lucia, Granada, and the Granadines. Seven years after, he ſold Granada and the Granadines to Count Cerillac, for one third more than he had given for his whole purchaſe. In 1651, Malta bought St. Chriſtopher's, St. Martin, St. Bartholomew, Santa Cruz, and Tortuga, for forty thouſand crowns, (5,250*l.*) which were paid down by the commandant of Poincy, who governed thoſe iſlands.

BOOK IV.

The knights of Malta were to hold them in fief of the crown, and were not allowed to inſtruſt any but a Frenchman with the adminiſtration of them.

THE new poſſeſſors enjoyed an unlimited authority, and diſpoſed of the lands. All places both civil and military were in their gift. They had the right of pardoning thoſe whom their deputies condemned to death; in ſhort, they were ſo many petty ſovereigns. It was natural to expect that as their domains were under their own inſpection, agriculture would make a rapid progreſs. This conjecture was in ſome meaſure realized, notwithſtanding the conteſts which were neceſſarily ſharp and frequent under ſuch maſters. However, this ſecond ſtate of the French colonies did not turn out more beneficial to the nation than the firſt. The Dutch continued to furniſh them with proviſions, and to bring away the produce, which they ſold indiſcriminately to all nations, even to that, which ought to have reaped the ſole advantage of it, becauſe it was her own property.

THE mother-country ſuffered conſiderably from this evil, and Colbert miſtook the means of redreſs. That great man, who had for ſome time preſided over the finances and trade of the kingdom, had ſet out upon a wrong plan. The habit of living with the farmers of the revenue under the adminiſtration of Mazarin, had accuſtomed him to conſider money, which is but an inſtrument of circulation, as the ſource of every thing. He imagined that manufactures were the readieſt way to draw it from abroad; and that in the work-ſhops were to be found the beſt reſources of the ſtate, and in the tradeſmen the moſt uſeful ſubjects of the monarchy. To increaſe the number of theſe men, he thought it beſt to keep the neceſſaries of life at a low price, and to diſcourage the exportation of corn. The production of materials

materials was the leaſt object of his care, and he bent his whole attention to the manufacturing of them. This preference of induſtry to agriculture became the reigning taſte, and unfortunately this deſtructive ſyſtem ſtill prevails.

HAD Colbert entertained juſt notions of the improvement of lands and of the encouragement it requires, and of the liberty the huſbandman muſt enjoy, he would have purſued in 1664 a very different plan from that which he adopted. It is well known that he redeemed Guadalupe and its dependent iſlands for one hundred and twenty-five thouſand livres; (5,468*l.* 15*s.*) Martinico for forty thouſand crowns; (5,250*l.*) the Granades for a hundred thouſand livres; (4,375*l.*) and all the poſſeſſions of Malta for five hundred thouſand livres. (21,875*l.*) So far his conduct was deſerving of commendation: it was fit he ſhould reſtore ſo many branches of ſovereignty to the body of the ſtate. But he ought never to have ſubmitted poſſeſſions of ſuch importance to the oppreſſions of an excluſive company; a meaſure proſcribed as much by paſt experience, as by reaſon. Miniſtry was probably in hopes that a ſociety into which were to be incorporated thoſe of Africa, Cayenne, and North-America, and what little trade was beginning to be carried on upon the coaſts of St. Domingo, would become an irreſiſtibly permanent power, from the great combinations it would have opportunities of forming, and the facility it would be ſupplied with of repairing from one quarter, the loſſes it might ſuſtain in another. They thought to ſecure the future ſplendor of the company by lending them the tenth part of the amount of their capital, free from intereſt for four years, by permitting the exportation of all proviſions duty free into their ſettlements, and by prohibiting as much as they could, the competition of the Dutch.

BOOK IV.

NOTWITHSTANDING all theſe favours, the company was never in a flouriſhing ſtate. The errors they fell into ſeemed to increaſe in proportion to the number of conceſſions that had been injudiciouſly beſtowed upon them. The knavery of their agents, the diſheartnened condition of the coloniſts. the devaſtations of war with other cauſes, concurred to throw their affairs into the utmoſt confuſion. Their ruin was advancing, and appeared inevitable in 1674, when the ſtate judged it proper to pay off their debts, which amounted to three millions, five hundred and twenty-three thouſand livres, (154,131*l.* 5*s.*) and to reimburſe them their capital of one million, two hundred eighty-ſeven thouſand, one hundred and eighty-five livres. (56,314*l.* 6*s.* 10*d.* ½.) Theſe generous terms reſtored to the body of the ſtate thoſe valuable poſſeſſions which had been hitherto as it were alienated from it. The colonies were truly French, and all the citizens without diſtinction, were at liberty to go and ſettle there, or to open a communication with them.

The French iſlands recover their liberty. Obſtacles which impede their ſucceſs.

THEY were now freed from the chains under which they had ſo long been oppreſſed, and nothing ſeemed capable of abating the active ſpirit of labour and induſtry. The tranſports of joy this event occaſioned in the iſlands, can hardly be expreſſed. Every individual gave a full ſcope to his ambition, and thought himſelf at the eve of making an immenſe fortune. If they were deceived in theſe expectations, this cannot be attributed either to their preſumption or their indolence. Their hopes were very natural, and their whole conduct was ſuch as juſtified and confirmed them. Unfortunately the prejudices of the mother country threw inſurmountable difficulties in their way.

FIRST

FIRST, it was required even in the iſlands, that every free man, and every ſlave of either ſex, ſhould pay a yearly poll-tax of a hundred weight of raw ſugar. In vain did they remonſtrate that the condition impoſed upon the colonies, to trade only with the mother country, was of itſelf a ſufficient hardſhip, and a reaſon why they ſhould be exempted from all other taxes. Theſe repreſentations were not attended to, as they ought to have been. Whether from neceſſity, or from ignorance on the part of government, thoſe farmers who ought to have been aſſiſted with loans without intereſt, or with gratuities, ſaw part of their harveſt collected by greedy tax-gatherers; which, had it been returned into their own fertile fields, would gradually have increaſed their produce.

WHILST the iſlands were thus ſtript of part of their proviſions, the ſpirit of monopoly was taking effectual meaſures in France to reduce the price of what was left them. The privilege of buying them up was limited to a few ſea-ports. This was a manifeſt infringement of the eſſential rights veſted in the other harbours of the kingdom; but to the colonies it proved a very unfortunate reſtriction, becauſe it leſſened the numbers of buyers and ſellers on the coaſts.

TO this diſadvantage another was ſoon added. The miniſtry had endeavoured to exclude all foreign veſſels from thoſe diſtant poſſeſſions, and had ſucceeded, becauſe they were in earneſt. Theſe navigators obtained from avarice the privilege that was denied them by the laws. They purchaſed of French merchants paſſes to go to the colonies, where they took in their ladings, and carried them directly to their own country. This unfair dealing might have been puniſhed and ſuppreſſed in many different ways, and they fixed upon the moſt pernicious

BOOK IV.

nicious. All ſhips were required to give in their return, not only at home, but likewiſe at the ports from whence they had ſailed. This reſtraint neceſſarily brought on a conſiderable expence to no purpoſe, and could not fail of enhancing the price of American commodities.

THE ſale of ſugar, the moſt important of theſe commodities, ſoon met with another check. The refiners, in 1682, petitioned that the exportation of raw ſugars might be prohibited; in which they ſeemed to be influenced merely by public good. They alledged, that it was repugnant to all ſound principles, that the original produce ſhould be ſent away to ſupport foreign manufactures, and that the ſtate ſhould voluntarily deprive itſelf of the profits of ſo valuable a labour. This plauſible reaſoning made too much impreſſion upon Colbert; and the conſequence of it was; that the refining of ſugar was kept up at the ſame exorbitant price, and the art itſelf never received any improvement. This was not approved by the people who conſumed this article: the French ſugar-trade ſank and that of the rival nations was increaſed.

SOME of the coloniſts, obſerving that the ſyſtem was not dropped notwithſtanding this fatal experiment, ſollicited leave to fine their own ſugars. They had ſo many means of going through this proceſs at a trifling expence, that they flattered themſelves they might ſoon recover that preference they had loſt in the foreign markets. This change was more than probable, had not every hundred weight of refined ſugar they ſent home, been clogged with a duty of eight livres (7*s.*) on entering the kingdom. All they could do under the load of this heavy impoſition, was to bear up againſt the competition of the refiners in France. The produce of the reſpective

tive manufactures was all consumed at home, and those in power chose rather to relinquish an important branch of trade, than to own that they had been guilty of a mistake in prohibiting the importation of raw sugars.

From this period, the colonies, which supplied twenty-seven millions weight of sugar, could not dispose of it in all the mother-country, which consumed but twenty millions. The want of a demand made it needless to grow any more than what was necessary. This medium could only be settled in process of time, and before this was effected, the commodity sank to the lowest ebb. This fall, which was likewise owing to the negligent manner of refining it, was so great, that raw sugar, which sold for fourteen or fifteen livres, (between 11*s.* and 12*s.*) *per* hundred, in 1682, fetched no more than five or six, (not quite 5*s.* on an average.) in 1713.

The low price of the staple commodity would have made it impossible for the colonists to increase the number of their slaves, even if the government by its proceedings had not contributed to this mischief. The negro trade was always in the hands of exclusive companies, who imported but few, on purpose to keep up their price. We have good authority to assert that in 1698 there were not twenty thousand negroes in those numerous settlements; and it may safely be affirmed that most of these had been brought in by interlopers. Fifty-four ships of a moderate size were sufficient to bring over the whole produce of these colonies.

The French islands could not but sink under so many difficulties. If the inhabitants did not forsake them, and carry their industry elsewhere, their perseverance must be attributed to some trifling advantages, which still kept them in hopes of better times. The culture of tobacco, cocoa, indigo, cotton and arnotto, was ra-

BOOK IV.

ther encouraged. Government ſupported it indirectly, by laying heavy duties on the foreign importation of theſe articles. This ſlight favour gave them time to wait for a happier revolution, which was brought about in 1716.

At this period, a plain and ſimple regulation was ſubſtituted in lieu of equivocal orders, which greedy officers of the revenue had from time to time extorted from the wants and weakneſs of government. The merchandiſe deſtined for the colonies was exempted from all taxes. The duties upon American commodities deſigned for home conſumption were greatly lowered. The goods brought over for exportation were to be entered and cleared out freely, upon paying three *per cent.* The duties laid upon foreign ſugars were to be levied every where alike, without any regard to particular immunities, except in caſes of re-exportation in the ports of Bayonne and Marſeilles.

In granting ſo many favours to her remote poſſeſſions, the mother country was not unmindful of her own intereſts. All merchandiſe prohibited at home, was alſo forbidden in the colonies. To ſecure the preference to their own manufactures, it was enacted that even ſuch goods as were not prohibited, ſhould pay duty on their entry into France, although they were deſtined for the colonies. Salt beef alone, which the mother-country could not furniſh in competition, was exempted from this obligation.

This regulation would have been as good a one as the times would admit of, if the edict had allowed that the trade from America, which till then had been confined to a few ſea-ports, ſhould be general, and had releaſed ſhips from the neceſſity of returning to the place from whence they came. Theſe reſtraints limited the number of ſeamen, raiſed the expences of navigation, and

and prevented the exportation of the territorial productions. The perſons who were then concerned in the government of the ſtate ought to have been aware of theſe inconveniencies, and no doubt intended one day to reſtore to trade that freedom and action which alone can make it flouriſh. They were probably forced to ſacrifice their own maxims to the clamours of men in office, who loudly diſapproved of whatever claſhed with their intereſt.

NOTWITHSTANDING this weakneſs, the coloniſts, who had reluctantly given up the hopes of an excellent ſoil, beſtowed their utmoſt induſtry upon it, as ſoon as they were allowed that liberty. Their ſucceſs aſtoniſhed all nations. If government, on the arrival of the French in the new world, had but foreſeen what they learned from experience a century later, the ſtate might ſoon have enjoyed from the advantages of cultivation that wealth which would have added more to its proſperity than conqueſts. It would not then have been as much ruined by its victories as by its defeats. Thoſe wiſe miniſters who repaired the loſſes of war by a happy revolution in trade, would not have had the mortification to ſee that Santa Cruz was evacuated in 1696, and St. Chriſtopher's given up at the peace of Utrecht. their concern would have been greatly heightened, could they have foreſeen that in 1763, we ſhould be reduced to deliver up the Granades to the Engliſh, Strange infatuation of the ambition of nations, or rather of kings! After ſacrificing thouſands of lives to acquire and to preſerve a remote poſſeſſion, a greater number muſt ſtill be laviſhed to loſe it. Yet France has ſome important colonies left: let us begin with Guiana, which lies to windward of all the reſt.

Settlement of the French in Guiana.

THE great extent of this immenſe country is evident from its very boundaries. It is limited on the eaſt by the ocean:

Revolutions of that colony.

Its advantages and its inconveniences.

BOOK IV.

ocean; on the north by the Oronooko; on the ſouth by the Amazons; on the weſt by the Rio-negro, which joins thoſe two rivers, the largeſt in South-America. Guiana, in this poſition, may be conſidered as an iſland, at leaſt two hundred leagues over from north to ſouth, and above three hundred from eaſt to weſt.

THE people who roved about this vaſt tract, ſo fortunately bounded, before the arrival of the Europeans, were divided into ſeveral nations, none of which were very numerous. Their manners were the ſame as thoſe of the ſavages of the ſouthern continent. The Caribs only, who from their numbers and courage were more turbulent than the reſt, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by a remarkable cuſtom in the choice of their chiefs. To be qualified to govern ſuch a people, it was neceſſary a man ſhould have more ſtrength, more intrepidity, and more knowledge than the reſt of his brethren, and that he ſhould give evident and public proofs of theſe ſuperior qualifications.

THE man, therefore, who aſpired to the honour of leading his fellow-creatures muſt of courſe be well acquainted with all the places fit for hunting and fiſhing, and with all the ſprings and roads. He was obliged to endure long and ſevere faſts; and was afterwards expoſed to carry burthens of an enormous weight. He uſed to paſs ſeveral nights as a centinel, at the entrance of the carbet or principal hut. He was buried up to the waiſt in an ant's neſt, where he remained for a conſiderable time, expoſed to ſharp and bloody ſtings. If in all theſe ſituations he ſhewed a ſtrength and fortitude fit to cope with the dangers and hardſhips incident to the lives of ſavages: if he was one who could endure every thing and fear nothing, he was declared to be the man. He withdrew, however, as if conſcious of what his

his intended dignity required, and concealed himſelf under thick buſhes. The people went out to ſeek him in a retreat, which made him more worthy of the poſt he ſeemed to ſhun. Each of the aſſiſtants trod upon his head, to ſhew him, that being raiſed from the duſt by his equals, it was in their power to ſink him into it again, if ever he ſhould be forgetful of the duties of his ſtation. Such was the ceremony of his coronation. After this political leſſon, all the bows and arrows were thrown at his feet, and the nation was obedient to his laws, or rather to his example.

SUCH were the inhabitants of Guiana, when the Spaniard Alphonſo de Ojeda firſt landed there in 1499, with Americus Veſpucius, and John de la Coſa. He went over a part of it; but this voyage afforded him only a ſuperficial knowledge of ſo vaſt a country. Many others were undertaken at a greater expence, but turned out ſtill more unſucceſsful. Yet they were ſtill perſiſted in, from a motive which ever did and ever will deceive mankind.

A report prevailed, tho' its origin could not be diſcovered, that in the interior parts of Guiana, there was a country, known by the name of *del Dorado*, which contained immenſe riches in gold and precious ſtones, more mines and treaſures than ever Cortez and Pizarro had found. This fable not only inflamed the ardent imagination of the Spaniards, but fired every nation in Europe.

SIR Walter Raleigh in particular, one of the moſt extraordinary men that ever appeared in a country abounding in ſingular characters, was ſeized with this enthuſiaſm. He was paſſionately fond of every thing that was magnificent; he enjoyed a reputation equal to that of the greateſt men; he had more knowledge than thoſe whoſe immediate purſuit was learning; he poſſeſſed a freedom of thinking uncommon in thoſe days: and had

BOOK IV.

had a kind of romantic turn in his ſentiments and behaviour. This turn of mind determined him, in 1595, to undertake a voyage to Guiana; but he returned without diſcovering any thing relative to the object of his voyage. On his return, however, he publiſhed an account, full of the moſt brilliant impoſtures that ever amuſed the credulity of mankind.

THE French had not waited for this fallacious teſtimony, to turn their thoughts towards ſo famous a country. They had long before embraced the general prejudice, with a vivacity peculiar to themſelves. Whilſt the hopes of their rivals were engaged on the ſide of the Oronooko, they ſought to realize their own expectations upon the river Amazon. After many fruitleſs excurſions, they at length ſettled on the iſland of Cayenne in 1635.

...ES HOUSE
OXFORD
LIBRARY

SOME merchants of Rouen, thinking that this ſettlement might turn out to advantage, united their ſtock in 1643. They intruſted their affairs in the hands of a ferocious man, named Poncet de Bretigny, who having declared war both againſt the coloniſts and the ſavages, was ſoon murdered. This cataſtrophe having damped the courage of the aſſociates, a freſh company ſtarted up in 1651, which ſeemed to bid fair for out-doing the former. They ſet out with ſo large a capital as to enable them to collect, in Paris itſelf, ſeven or eight hundred coloniſts. Theſe embarked on the Seine, in order to ſail down to Havre de Grace. Unfortunately the virtuous Abbé de Marivault, who was the ſoul of this undertaking, and was to have had the management of it as director-general, was drowned as he was ſtepping into his boat. Roiville, a gentleman of Normandy, who was going over to Cayenne as general, was aſſaſſinated in the paſſage. Twelve of the principal adventurers, who were the perpetrators of this deed, and had undertaken to put the colony into a flouriſhing condition,

on, behaved there in as atrocious a manner as might be expected from ſo horrid a beginning. They hanged one of their own number; two died; three were baniſhed to a deſert iſland: the reſt abandoned themſelves to all kinds of exceſs. The commandant of the citadel deſerted to the Dutch with part of his garriſon. The remainder, that had eſcaped hunger, poverty, and the fury of the ſavages, which had been rouzed by numberleſs provocations, thought themſelves happy in being able to get over to the Leeward iſlands in a boat and two canoes. They abandoned the fort, ammunition, arms, and merchandiſe, with five or ſix hundred dead bodies of their wretched companions, fifteen months after they had landed on the iſland.

A new company was ſet on foot in 1663, under the direction of La Barré, maſter of requeſts. Their capital was no more than two hundred thouſand livres. (8,750*l.* ſterling.) The aſſiſtance they obtained from the miniſtry, enabled them to expel the Dutch, who, under the conduct of Spranger, had taken poſſeſſion of the lands granted to them, after they had been evacuated by their countrymen. A year after, this ſmall body made a part of that company, and the poſſeſſions and privileges of all the reſt were united. Cayenne returned into the hands of government, at that happy period which reſtored freedom to all the colonies. It was taken in 1667 by the Engliſh, and in 1676 by the Dutch; but has never even been attacked ſince that time.

This ſettlement, ſo often overturned, had but juſt begun to be re-eſtabliſhed, and to enjoy ſome tranquillity, when great hopes were entertained of its ſucceſs. Some pirates, laden with ſpoils they had gathered in the South Seas, came and fixed there; and, what was of greater conſequence, reſolved to employ their treaſures in

BOOK IV.

in the cultivation of the lands. It was probable, that their plan would be profecuted with vigour, becauſe their means were great; when Ducaſſe, who was reputed an able ſeaman, came with ſome ſhips, in 1688, and propoſed to them the plundering of Surinam. This rouzed their natural taſte; the new coloniſts became pirates again, and almoſt all the inhabitants followed their example.

THE expedition proved unfortunate. Some of the beſiegers fell in the attack, the reſt were taken priſoners, and ſent to the Caribbees, where they ſettled. The colony has never recovered this loſs. Far from extending into Guiana, it has only languiſhed at Cayenne.

THIS iſland is only parted from the continent by two rivers. It may be about ſixteen leagues in circumference. By a diſpoſition very uncommon in iſlands, and which makes it not very fit to be inhabited, the land is high near the water ſide, and low in the middle. Hence it is interſected with ſo many moraſſes, that all communication is impracticable, without taking a great circuit. Until the lands that are under water are drained, and ſecured from future inundations by dykes properly raiſed, there will be no place fit for culture, except the riſing grounds. Their are ſome ſmall tracts of an excellent ſoil to be found there, but the generality is dry, ſandy, and ſoon ſpent. The only town on the colony is defended by a covert way, a large ditch, a very good mud rampart, and five baſtions. In the middle of the town, is a pretty conſiderable eminence, of which a redoubt has been made that is called the fort, where forty men might capitulate after the place had been taken. The entrance into the harbour is through a narrow canal, and ſhips can only get in at high water, through the rocks and reefs that are ſcattered about this paſs.

THE

THE firſt produce of Cayenne, was the arnotto. This is a red dye, called by the Spaniards *achiote*, into which they dip white wool, whatever colour they intend to give it. The tree that yields this lye, has a reddiſh bark, and large, ſtrong, and hard leaves, of a dark green. It is as high as a plumb-tree, and more buſhy. The flowers, that grow in bunches, not unlike wild roſes, are ſucceeded twice a year by pods, as prickly as the ſhell of a cheſnut, but ſmaller. They contain ſome little ſeeds of a pale red, and theſe make the arnotto.

As ſoon as one of the eight or ten pods that grow in a bunch opens of itſelf, all the reſt may be gathered. All the ſeeds are then to be taken out, and thrown directly into large troughs, full of water. When the fermentation begins, the ſeeds are to be bruiſed ſeveral times with wooden peſtles, till the ſkin is all come off. The whole is then poured into ſieves, made of ruſhes, which retain all the ſolid parts, and let out a thick, reddiſh, and fetid liquor into iron coppers. As it boils, the ſcum is ſkimmed off, and ſaved in large pans. When the liquor yields no more ſcum, it is thrown away as uſeleſs, and the ſcum poured back into the copper.

THIS ſcum, which is to be boiled for ten or twelve hours, muſt be conſtantly ſtirred with a wooden ſpatula, to prevent its ſticking to the copper, or turning black. When it is boiled enough, and ſomewhat hardened, it is ſpread upon boards to cool. It is then made up into cakes of two or three pounds weight, and the whole buſineſs is finiſhed.

FROM the culture of the arnotto, Cayenne proceeded to that of cotton, of indigo, and at laſt of ſugar. It was the firſt of all the French colonies that attempted to grow coffee; which was brought thither in 1721 by ſome deſerters, who purchaſed their pardon by conveying

ing

BOOK IV.

ing it from Surinam, where they had taken refuge. Ten or twelve years after they planted cocoa. In 1752, 260,541 pounds weight of arnotto, 80,363 pounds of ſugar, 17,919 pounds of cotton, 26,881 pounds of coffee, 91,916 pounds of cocoa, 618 pieces of timber, and 104 planks, were exported from the colony. All theſe articles were the fruit of the labour of ninety French families, a hundred and twenty-five Indians, and fifteen hundred blacks, which made up the whole of the colony.

SUCH, and weaker, ſtill, was the ſtate of Cayenne, when, to the aſtoniſhment of the public, in 1763, the court of Verſailles endeavoured to raiſe its conſequence. The French had then juſt emerged from the horrors of an unſucceſsful war. The ſituation of affairs had determined the miniſtry to purchaſe peace with the ceſſion of ſeveral important colonies. It appeared equally neceſſary to make the nation forget her calamities, and the errors that had been the cauſe of them. The proſpect of better fortune might amuſe the people, and ſilence their clamours; while their attention was removed from poſſeſſions the nation had loſt, and turned towards Guiana, which, it was given out, would compenſate all their misfortunes.

THIS vaſt country, which was long decorated with the pompous title of Equinoctial France, was not the ſole property of that power, as it had been formerly pretended. The Dutch, by ſettling to the north, and the Portugueſe to the ſouth, had confined the French between the rivers of Maroni and Vincent Pinçon; which limits were fixed by ſeveral treaties. Theſe boundaries were epually diſtant from Cayenne, and the extent between them comprehends no leſs than a hundred leagues of the ſea-coaſt. The navigation along this coaſt is extremely difficult, on account of the rapidity of the currents, and

and is continually obſtructed by ſmall iſlands, banks of ſand and of hardened mud, and by ſtrong mangroves cloſely entangled that extend two or three leagues into the ſea. There is no harbour, few places where ſhips can land, and the lighteſt ſloops often meet with inſuperable difficulties. The large and numerous rivers that water this continent are not more navigable. Their bed in many places is barred by huge rocks, which makes it impoſſible to ſail through it. The ſhore, which is flat almoſt in all parts, is moſtly overflowed by the ſpring tides. In the inland country, moſt of the low lands are only moraſſes in the rainy ſeaſon. Then there is no ſafety but upon higher ground. Theſe torrents of water, however, that ſuſpend all the labours of the field, moderate the heat of the weather, without producing that malignant influence upon the climate which might be apprehended from them. Uncertain conjectures can only be formed of the population of the inland parts. That of the ſea coaſt may amount to nine or ten thouſand men, divided into ſeveral nations, the moſt powerful of which are the Galibis. Some miſſionaries, by great attention and perſeverance, have found means to fix ſome of thoſe roving nations, and even to reconcile them to the French, againſt whom they had with reaſon entertained the moſt formidable prejudices. The firſt adventurers who frequented this region, took away or brought men, whom they condemned to the hardeſt labours of ſlavery on the very ſoil where they were born free, or ſold them to the coloniſts of the Leeward iſlands. Their common price at firſt was twenty piſtoles (16*l.* 15*s.*) a head. Happily for the inhabitants, they roſe ſo exorbitantly in their demands, that no purchaſers could be found. It was thought better to purchaſe negroes, who were almoſt as expert at hunting and fiſhing, and

BOOK IV.

much more ſo at the labours of the great plantations that were then carrying on in every part.

GUIANA, as we have deſcribed it, appeared a very valuable reſource to the French miniſtry, reduced as they were to the neceſſity of repairing the great miſtakes they had committed. A few conſiderations will enable us to judge of their motives.

AMERICA preſents itſelf to Europe under two different views. It offers to thoſe who emigrate from us, two zones to be peopled and cultivated, the torrid, and the temperate northern zone. The firſt, more fruitful, and more rich, but merely ſo in articles of luxury and indulgence, muſt of courſe afford a brighter proſpect, and convey a ſpeedier and more extenſive influence to the powers that made themſelves maſters of it. This zone being more apparently calculated for deſpotiſm, becauſe the heat of the climate and the fertility of the ſoil, diſpoſe men to become ſlaves for the ſake of quiet and pleaſure, was therefore moſt fit to be in the hands of abſolute monarchies, and to be peopled with ſlaves, who ſhould only cultivate ſuch productions as were proper to enervate the vigour and elaſticity of the fibres, by increaſing the number of our quick ſenſations. The mines that abound there, affording wealth without labour, muſt naturally haſten the decay of ſtates, by the occaſion they afford of exciting our deſires and our facility of enjoyments. The nations that inhabit that zone muſt of courſe, either fall into indolence, or engage in undertakings ſuggeſted by a ruinous ambition, which becomes the more ſo from its firſt ſucceſſes. Miſtaking the fruit or ſign of wealth for the creative principle of political ſtrength, thoſe ſtates fondly imagined, that with money they could keep the nations in their pay as they kept the negroes in their chains; and never

never conſidered that the very money which would procure allies, would make of them ſo many powerful enemies; who, uniting their arms with foreign riches, would exert this double force to ſubvert the whole.

THE temperate zone of North-America could only attract free and laborious people. It furniſhes no productions but what are common and neceſſary; and which, for that very reaſon, are a never failing ſource of wealth and ſtrength. It favours population, by ſupplying materials for that peaceful and ſedentary huſbandry which fixes and multiplies families; and, as it does not excite inordinate deſires, is a ſecurity againſt invaſion. It extends through an immenſe continent, and preſents a large extent, on every ſide open to navigation. Its coaſts are waſhed by a ſea which is generally in a navigable ſtate, and abounds with harbours. The coloniſts are not at ſo great a diſtance from the mother country; they live in a climate more analogous to their own; and in a ſituation that is fit for hunting, fiſhing, huſbandry, and for all the manly exerciſes and labours which improve the ſtrength of the body, and are preſervatives againſt the vices that taint the mind. Thus, in America as Europe, the north will get the better of the ſouth. The one will be covered with inhabitants and plantations, whilſt the other will laviſh its voluptuous liquors and its golden mines. The one will be able to poliſh the ſavage nations by their intercourſe with a free people; the other will never form but a monſtrous and feeble mixture of a race of ſlaves with a nation of tyrants.

IT was of conſequence to the ſouthern colonies to have the roots of population and vigour in the north, where they might exchange the commodities of luxury for thoſe of neceſſity, and keep open a communication that might afford them ſuccours if they were attacked; a re-

BOOK IV.

treat in caſe they were defeated, and a ſupply of land forces to balance the weakneſs of their naval reſources.

BEFORE the laſt war, the French ſouthern colonies enjoyed this advantage. Canada, by its ſituation, the warlike genius of its inhabitants, their alliances with the Indian nations in friendſhip with the French, and fond of the frankneſs and freedom of their manners, might balance, or at leaſt give umbrage to New-England. The loſs of that great continent determined the French miniſtry to ſeek for ſupport from another. Guiana was thought to be no bad ſubſtitute, if a free and national population could be eſtabliſhed there, which might be able to reſiſt foreign attacks, and in courſe of time, to furniſh a ſpeedy aſſiſtance to the other colonies, when circumſtances might require it.

SUCH was evidently the ſyſtem of the miniſter. He did not imagine, that a region thus inhabited, could ever enrich the mother country by the produce of ſuch commodities as are peculiar to the ſouthern colonies. He was too intelligent not to know, that there is no ſuch thing as ſelling, without complying with the general run of the market, and that this cannot be done but by producing ſaleable commodities at the ſame rate as other nations can afford them, and that labours executed by free men, muſt of neceſſity bear a much higher price than thoſe that are exacted from ſlaves.

THE meaſures were directed by an active miniſter. As a wiſe politician, who does not ſacrifice ſafety to wealth, he only propoſed to raiſe a bulwark to protect the French poſſeſſions. As a philoſopher, who feels for his fellow-creatures, who knows and reſpects the rights of humanity, he wiſhed to people theſe fertile but deſert regions with free men. But genius, eſpecially when too impatient of ſucceſs, cannot foreſee every circumſtance.

ſtance. The miſtake proceeded from ſuppoſing that Europeans would be able to undergo the fatigues of preparing lands for cultivation under the torrid zone; that men, who quitted their own country only in hopes of living more comfortably abroad, would accommodate themſelves to the precarious ſubſiſtence of a ſavage life, in a worſe climate than that which they had left; or laſtly, that it would be an eaſy matter to eſtabliſh an intercourſe of importance between Guiana and the French iſlands.

THIS bad ſyſtem, which the government was drawn into by a ſet of bold men, who were either miſled by their preſumption, or who ſacrificed the public good to their own private views, was as extravagantly executed as it had been inconſiderably adopted. All was jumbled together, without any principle of legiſlation, and without conſidering in what manner nature had ſuited the ſeveral lands to the men who were to inhabit them. The inhabitants were divided into two claſſes, the proprietors and the mercenaries. They were not aware, that this diviſion, at preſent eſtabliſhed in Europe and in moſt civilized nations, was the conſequence of wars, of revolutions, and of the numberleſs chances which time brings on; that it was the effect of the progreſs of ſociability, not the baſis and foundation of ſociety, which in its beginning requires that all her members ſhould partake of her property. Colonies, which are new populations and new ſocieties, ought to adhere to this fundamental rule. It was here broken through at firſt ſetting out, by allotting lands in Guiana to thoſe only who were able to advance a certain fund for the cultivation of them. Others, whoſe deſires were tempted with uncertain hopes, were excluded from this diviſion of lands. This was a fault both againſt ſound policy and humanity. Had they granted a portion of land to every new inhabitant that was ſent over to this barren and

BOOK IV.

deſert country, each would have cleared his own ſpot, and have tilled it in proportion to his ſtrength or abilities, one with the aſſiſtance of his money, another by his own labour. It was neceſſary that thoſe who were poſſeſſed of a capital ſhould neither be diſcouraged, becauſe they were men of great conſequence to a riſing colony, nor that they ſhould have an excluſive preference given them, leſt it ſhould prevent them from meeting aſſiſtants who might be willing to be dependent on them. It was alſo indiſpenſably neceſſary, that every member of the new tranſmigration ſhould be offered ſome property, with which he might turn his labour, his induſtry, his money, in a word, his greater or leſſer powers to his advantage. It ought to have been foreſeen, that Europeans, in whatever ſituation, would not quit their own country but in hopes of better fortune, and that deceiving their hopes and confidence in this reſpect, would be an effectual way to ruin the colony intended to be eſtabliſhed.

In vain did government ſupply the coloniſts with two years ſubſiſtence. This was too much proviſion at once. It muſt ſpoil, either in the tranſport, or at the end of the voyage. The very paſſage, in which ſome part muſt be conſumed, and the reſt injured, could not but make theſe proviſions dear, ſcarce, and noxious. A hot climate, and a damp country, would be additional cauſes of putrefaction among the eatables, and of ſickneſs and mortality among the men. It would have been a folly to pretend to carry over from Europe to Guiana a ſufficient quantity of live cattle to furniſh freſh meat every day for a numerous colony. Moſt of them would have died, either in the paſſage or at their arrival; for as animals are more immediately under the direction of nature, they are the more affected by the ſudden alterations of the air, and by the change of climate and food.

THE

THE increaſe of cattle ſhould have preceded that of men. Both ſhould have multiplied by degrees, and the ſeeds of culture in that diſtant region have been laid in, before the inhabitants were become too numerous. The firſt tranſports ſhould have been ſmall, and attended with every advance, every aſſiſtance neceſſary for clearing the lands. In proportion as the infant colony ſhould have produced enough and even more than was neceſſary for ttheir own conſumption, the purchaſe of the overplus would have become a ſource of increaſe. Agriculture and population would then have mutually aſſiſted and promoted each other. The new coloniſts would have drawn others after them, and ſociety, like individuals, would have arrived at its proper ſtrength and maturity in the ſpace of twenty years.

THESE very ſimple and natural reflections never occurred to the contrivers of this ſcheme. Twelve thouſand men, after a tedious navigation, were landed upon dreary and inhoſpitable ſhores. It is well known that almoſt throughout the torrid zone, the year is divided into two ſeaſons, the dry and the rainy. In Guiana, ſuch heavy rains fall from the beginning of November to the end of May, that the lands are either overflowed, or at leaſt unfit for tillage. Had the new coloniſts arrived there in the beginning of the dry ſeaſon, and been placed on the lands deſtined for them, they would have had time to put their habitations in order, to cut down or burn the woods, and to plough and ſow their fields.

FOR want of theſe precautions, they knew not where to beſtow ſuch multitudes of people as were conſtantly pouring in juſt at the rainy reaſon. The iſland of Cayenne might have been a proper place for the reception and refreſhment of the new comers, till they could have been diſpoſed of; there they would have found lodging

BOOK IV.

and aſſiſtance. But the falſe notion which prevailed, that the new colony muſt not be intermixed with the old, deprived them of this reſource. In conſequence of this prejudice, twelve thouſand victims were landed on the banks of the Kourou, on a ridge of ſand, amidſt a number of unwholeſome little iſlands, and only ſheltered under a miſerable awning. In this ſituation, totally inactive, and weary of exiſtence, they gave themſelves up to all the irregularities that idleneſs neceſſarily produces among a ſet of low men, removed far from their native country, and placed under a foreign ſky; there they fell into a ſtate of miſery, and were ſeized with contagious diſtempers, the neceſſary conſequences of ſuch a ſituation, and their wretched fate was at length terminated in all the horrors of deſpair. Their aſhes will for ever cry out for vengeance on the impoſtors who promoted this fatal ſcheme, on which ſuch great expences have been beſtowed, in the ſudden deſtruction of ſo many unfortunate men; as if the devaſtations of war, which they were intended to repair, had not ſwept away a ſufficient number in the courſe of eight years.

THAT nothing might be wanting to complete this horrid tragedy, fifteen hundred men, who had eſcaped the mortality, were waſhed away by the floods. They were diſtributed upon lands, where they were overflowed at the return of the rains, and every one of them periſhed, without leaving behind them a ſingle mark of poſterity, or the leaſt trace of their memory.

THE ſtate has deeply lamented this loſs, and has impeached and puniſhed the authors of it; but how grievous is it for our country, for the ſubjects, for every ſoul that is ſenſible of the value of French blood, to ſee it thus laviſhed upon ruinous enterprizes, by an abſurd jealouſy of authority, which enjoins the moſt rigorous ſecrecy upon all public operations. Is it not then the intereſt

tereſt of the whole nation that her chiefs ſhould be well informed? and how can they be ſo but from collecting general information? Why ſhould projects, of which the people are to be both the object and the inſtrument, be concealed from them? Can the will be commanded without the judgment, or can we inſpire courage without confidence? The only true information is to be had from public writings, where truth appears undiſguiſed, and falſehood fears to be detected. Secret memoirs, private ſchemes, are commonly the work of crafty and intereſted men, who inſinuate themſelves into the cabinets of perſons in adminiſtration, by dark, oblique and indirect ways. When a prince or a miniſter has acted according to the opinion of the public, or of enlightened men, if he is unfortunate, he cannot on any account be blamed. But when enterprizes are undertaken without the advice or againſt the ſenſe of the people; when events are brought on unknown to thoſe whoſe lives and fortunes are expoſed by them; what can this be but a ſecret league, a combination of a few individuals againſt the bulk of ſociety? Can it be poſſible that authority ſhould think itſelf degraded by an intercourſe with the citizens? Or will men in power for ever treat the reſt of mankind with ſo great a degree of contempt, as not even to deſire that the injuries they have done them ſhould be forgiven?

WHAT has been the conſequence of that cataſtrophe, in which ſo many ſubjects, ſo many foreigners, have been ſacrificed to the illuſions of the French miniſtry with reſpect to Guiana? This unhappy climate has been abuſed with all the rancour with which reſentment and misfortune can aggravate its real evils. It has been aſſerted, that colonies would never be brought to flouriſh there, even if thoſe very principles of culture and admi-

BOOK IV.

adminiſtration by which all other colonies have proſpered were to be adopted. This opinion is grounded upon the barrenneſs of the ſoil, the exceſſive dampneſs of the climate, the prodigious ſwarms of ants that infeſt the country, and the facility the ſlaves have of deſerting from their labour. There is ſome truth, but there is likewiſe ſome exaggeration in theſe complaints.

Because the iſland of Cayenne is not very fertile, it cannot ſurely without injuſtice be inferred that the neighbouring continent is altogether as rebellious to the labours of cultivation. Thoſe who draw this inference have gone no further than the marſhy coaſts of this vaſt country. But obſervers, who have penetrated into the inland parts, are quite of a different opinion, and the few experiments already made, contradict a prejudice founded merely on the firſt appearances.

The apprehenſion ariſing from the duration of the ruins are not ſo ill-grounded. The defect in the ſeaſons endangers the lives of the cultivators, increaſes the fatigues of their labours and renders their crops precarious, eſpecially that of ſugar, which has hitherto been leſs plentiful on the continent, and inferior in quality to that which comes from the iſlands. But it is not to be doubted, that the inundations will in a great meaſure ſubſide, when the woods are cleared away, which have covered theſe vaſt deſerts from the beginning of the world. Trees attract the rains and dews; and keep the ground damp by excluding the rays of the ſun. If we remove theſe great vegetables, which by their deep roots and wide-extended bows, abſorb and pump up all the juices of vegetation that circulate either in the inſide, or in the atmoſphere of the globe, nothing will remain but a moiſture which will be of uſe to the plantation.

At

At preſent the greater part of them are overrun with ants, and many to ſuch a degree as ſometimes to baffle the beſt grounded hopes. But this is an evil that has moleſted every new ſettlement in America; and which in time they have got rid of. Many do not now ſuffer any inconvenience from it, the reſt but little. Guiana will be leſs and leſs infeſted with theſe inſects, in proportion as the lands are cleared.

As to the negroes, if there is any danger of their running away, gathering in troops, and intrenching themſelves in the woods, it is the tyranny of their maſters that drives them to it. No doubt this inconvenience is greater on the continent than in the iſlands; but the deſertion of theſe poor wretches will be prevented whenever their condition is made tolerable. The law of neceſſity, which reſtrains even tyrants, will preſcribe that moderation in Guiana, that humanity alone ſhould inſpire every where.

The obſtacle leaſt attended to, though the moſt inſuperable of all, is the difficulty, nay the impoſſibility of undertaking any conſiderable plantations on the coaſts of Guiana. That coaſt which lies to the ſouth of Cayenne, for the ſpace of twenty leagues, preſents nothing but a bog, which is overflowed by the tides twice a month, at the new and full moon, and dried up again in the interval between theſe two periods. The coaſt, on the north, is conſtantly under water, for ſix months in the year, and its fertility muſt therefore be very precarious. The ſugar-cane dies there the firſt time it bears, which increaſes labour without augmenting the produce. In other reſpects this part of the coaſt is alſo very unwholeſome. An eaſterly wind conſtantly drives thither all the malignant vapours which the heat of the ſun draws from the ſwampy grounds of the ſouthern coaſt.

The

BOOK IV.

THE rivers of Cayenne, Aprouac, Oyapoko, Kourou, and Maroni, are not liable to the ſame inconveniences in that courſe. Upon the river Sinemary there ſtill are five or ſix hundred men ſubſiſting, who eſcaped from the general diſaſters of the colony. They enjoy the moſt perfect health; their little plantations ſucceed to the utmoſt of their wiſhes; and the increaſe of their cattle is prodigious. The ſame advantages are to be expected from the higheſt borders of the other rivers; ſome of them are even fitter to be navigated, either in boats, or ſmall veſſels.

ALL theſe diſcuſſions evidently ſhew that France ought not to give up the cultivation of Guiana. At firſt, the ſugar will be watery and inſipid, and there will be but little of it; but it has ſeldom been better in any grounds that have been newly cleared. Coffee, cocoa, and cotton are better in Guiana than in the Leeward iſlands. Tobacco muſt thrive there. Indigo, which formerly grew there in great plenty, has degenerated, but may be retrieved by freſh ſeeds from St. Domingo. The arnotto is of no great value there, but the ſale of it is certain. The Vanilla is the natural produce of the country: but no profit has been hitherto made of it, becauſe the pods rot as ſoon as they are gathered. It would, however, be an eaſy matter to inquire into the method of managing the trees that bear it, and to enrich Guiana with this branch of trade.

LARGE exportations of rice, wood, cattle and ſalt-fiſh can hardly be expected from thence. The colony might, indeed, attempt theſe things, but a good market would be wanting. The only one within reach would be the French windward iſlands, and this could never be very conſiderable. Thoſe ſettlements having nothing to give in exchange for theſe commodities, the

expences

expences of navigation would neceſſarily make the trade flag.

But ſtill this laſt connection may fail, and yet that between Guiana and the mother-country will not ſuffer in the leaſt. The whole will depend upon the encouragement the court of Verſailles may beſtow upon the eſtabliſhment. It is not attended with more difficulties than that of Surinam was, where more conſtant labour and greater means have never produced ſo much increaſe as in the iſlands. Yet Surinam is at this day covered with rich plantations. Why ſhould not France put Guiana upon a footing with this colony of the Dutch? This may be done by giving ſuch advantages and gratuities as every ſtate ought to ſacrifice when large tracts of lands, which may turn out to be of great utility, are to be cleared. Theſe clearings of rude lands are real conqueſts over chaos for the advantage of all mankind; different from thoſe conqueſts which depopulate whole provinces, and lay them waſte, in order to ſeize upon them; which coſt the blood of two nations to enrich neither; which muſt be defended at a great expence, and covered with troops for ages, before the peaceable poſſeſſion of them can be ſecured. Guiana requires nothing but labours and inhabitants. How powerful the motives for encouraging both!

This colony may at pleaſure multiply its cattle and increaſe its ſubſiſtence. It would be difficult to invade it, and ſtill more to block it up; therefore it will never be conquered. The Leeward iſlands, on the contrary, already once loſt, are looked upon with a wiſhful eye by a nation exaſperated at the reſtitution of them. Her chagrin makes it probable ſhe will always be diſpoſed to recover by force of arms what ſhe has loſt by negociation. The well-grounded confidence ſhe places

BOOK IV.

places in her navy, and in the flouriſhing condition of her northern colonies, will perhaps ſoon engage her in a freſh war, in order to retake what was given up at the laſt peace. Should fortune again favour the wiſe adminiſtration of her happy government; ſhould a people, encouraged by victories of which they themſelves reap the benefits, always get the better of a nation that fights only for her kings; Guiana would at leaſt afford a great reſource, where all ſuch articles as cuſtom has made neceſſary, might be cultivated, and for which an enormous duty muſt be paid to foreigners, if the nation cannot be ſupplied with them from her own colonies.

NOTHING has yet been done towards ſecuring the advantages which this ſettlement preſents. In January 1769, it conſiſted only of 1,291 free men, and 8,047 ſlaves. The herds did not amount to more than 1,923 head of black cattle, and 1,077 of ſmall. The produce of the colony was even inadequate to theſe means, ſmall as they were, becauſe the works were carried on by white men without ſkill, and blacks without ſubordination. Time will bring on more knowledge and better diſcipline. Till that happy period arrives, let us turn from Guiana, and proceed to St. Lucia.

The poſſeſſion of St. Lucia for a long time diſputed, is at laſt ceded to the French.

THE Engliſh took poſſeſſion of this iſland without oppoſition in the beginning of the year 1639. They lived there peaceably for a year and a half, when a ſhip of their own nation, which had been overtaken by a calm off Dominica, carried off ſome Caribs who were come in their canoes to bring them fruit. This violence occaſioned the ſavages of St. Vincent and Martinico to join the offended ſavages; and in Auguſt 1640, they all fell upon the new colony. In their fury, they murdered all that came in their way. The few who eſcaped

eſcaped their vengeance, quitted for ever a ſettlement that could be in no great forwardneſs.

In the firſt ages of the world, before civil ſocieties were formed and poliſhed, all men in general had a common right to every thing upon earth. Every one was free to take what he pleaſed for his own uſe, and even to conſume it, if it was of a periſhable nature. The uſe that was thus made of common right ſupplied the place of property. The moment any one had in this manner poſſeſſed himſelf of any thing, another could not take it from him without injuſtice. It was in this point of view which can only be applied to the primitive ſtate of nature, that the European nations conſidered America when it was firſt diſcovered. They thought nothing of the natives, and imagined they were ſufficiently authoriſed to ſeize upon any country, if no other nation of our continent was in poſſeſſion of it. Such was conſtantly and uniformly the only public right obſerved in the new world, and which we have not been aſhamed to avow and attempt to juſtify in this century, during the late hoſtilities.

From theſe principles, which the author of a philoſophical hiſtory of commerce would be aſhamed to approve, St. Lucia was to belong to any power that could or would people it. The French attempted it firſt. They ſent over forty inhabitants in 1650, under the conduct of Rouſſelan, a brave, active, prudent man, and ſingularly beloved by the natives, on account of his having married one of their women. His death, which happened four years after, deſtroyed all the good he had begun to do. Three of his ſucceſſors were murdered by the diſcontented Caribs, who were diſſatisfied with their behaviour to them; and the colony was but in a drooping condition, when it was taken in 1664 by the Engliſh, who evacuated it in 1666.

They

BOOK IV.

THEY were ſcarce gone, when the French appeared again on the iſland. Whatever was the cauſe, they had not increaſed their number much, when the enemy that had driven them out before, again forced them to quit their habitations twenty years after. Some, inſtead of evacuating the iſland, took refuge in the woods. As ſoon as the conquerors, who had made only a temporary invaſion, were gone, they reſumed their labours; but only for a ſhort time. The war, which ſoon after raged in Europe, made them apprehenſive that they might fall a prey to the firſt privateer that ſhould take a fancy to come and plunder them, they therefore removed in ſearch of quiet, to other French ſettlements, where they might hope for better protection. There was then no regular culture or colony in St. Lucia. It was only frequented by the inhabitants of Martinico, who came thither to cut wood, and to build canoes, and who had conſiderable docks on the iſland.

SOME ſoldiers and ſailors having deſerted thither after the peace of Utrecht, Marſhal d'Eſtrees petitioned for a grant of the iſland. No ſooner was it obtained in 1718, but he ſent over a commandant, troops, cannon and inhabitants. This gave umbrage to the court of London, who had a kind of claim to this iſland, from prior ſettlement, as that of Verſailles had, from almoſt uninterrupted poſſeſſion. Their complaints determined the French miniſtry to order that things ſhould be put into the ſame condition they were in before the grant. Whether this compliance did not appear ſufficient to the Engliſh, or whether it gave them room to think they might venture upon any thing, they themſelves gave St. Lucia in 1722 to the duke of Montagu, who ſent to take poſſeſſion of it

it. This clashing of intereſts occaſioned ſome diſturbance between the two courts; which was ſettled however in 1731 by an agreement made, that till the reſpective claims ſhould be finally adjuſted, the iſland ſhould be evacuated by both nations, but that both ſhould wood and water there.

THIS precarious agreement furniſhed an opportunity for private intereſt to act. The Engliſh no longer moleſted the French in the enjoyment of their habitations; but employed them as a channel to aſſiſt them in carrying on with richer colonies, ſmuggling connections, which the ſubjects of both governments thought equally advantageous to them. This trade has continued more or leſs briſk till the treaty of 1763, which ſecured to France the long conteſted property of St. Lucia.

What became of St. Lucia in the hands of the French.

THE firſt uſe which the court of Verſailles propoſed to make of her acquiſition, was to fix a magazine there. It had been the general opinion for ſome years paſt, that the wood and cattle of North-America was abſolutely neceſſary for theſe ſouthern colonies. It was found inconvenient to carry them directly thither, and St. Lucia was pitched upon as a very proper place for the exchange of theſe commodities againſt the molaſſes of Martinico and Guadalupe. Experience ſoon ſhewed that this ſcheme was impracticable.

To bring it to bear, the Engliſh muſt either depoſit their cargoes in ſtore-houſes, or keep them on board, or ſell them to traders ſettled on the iſland: three things equally impoſſible.

THESE ſailors will never conſent to loſe ſight of their cattle, as the expences they would incur for having them taken care of, for their food, or from accidents, would infallibly ruin them. Neither will they pay for warehouſes for their wood, which is too cheap and too bulky

BOOK IV.

a commodity to be worth the charge of ſtore-room. Nor can it be expected that they ſhould quietly ſit on board their ſhips, waiting till ſome traders ſhould come from the French iſlands to deal with them: the nature of their trade will not admit of ſuch delays. The only remaining way of managing this, would be by means of traders who might ſettle on the iſland as brokers; but the profit they muſt neceſſarily make, would enhance the price of the goods ſo much, that it would be impoſſible to carry on the trade through their channel.

The difficulties are not leſs on the ſide of the owners of molaſſes, than on that of the dealers in northern commodities. Accuſtomed to ſell their ſpirit at thirty-five or thirty-ſix livres (about 1*l.* 11*s.*) a barrel, they would never conſent to an abatement of two-fifths, which muſt be allowed for carriage, emptying out, and commiſſion. If the Engliſh are obliged to pay an higher price for the molaſſes, they muſt of courſe raiſe that of their own commodities, and this advance will make them too dear for the conſumer.

The French miniſtry, undeceived as to their firſt notion, without formally giving it up, have turned their thoughts to the cultivation of St. Lucia. In 1763, they ſent over at a great expence, and with unneceſſary parade, ſeven or eight hundred men, whoſe unhappy fate is more a matter of pity than ſurprize. Under the tropics, the beſt eſtabliſhed colonies always deſtroy one third of of the ſoldiers that are ſent thither, though they are healthy ſtout men, and find good accommodations: it is no wonder then, that a ſet of miſerable wretches, picked up from the dunghills of Europe, and expoſed to all the hardſhips of indigence, and all the horrors of deſpair, ſhould moſt of them periſh in an uncultivated and unwholeſome iſland.

The

THE advantage of peopling this colony was reſerved to the neighbouring ſettlements. Some Frenchmen, who had ſold, upon very profitable terms to themſelves, their plantations at the Granades to the Engliſh, brought part of their capital to St. Lucia. Several planters from St. Vincents, incenſed at being obliged to buy lands which they themſelves had been at incredible pains to clear and fertilize, took the ſame courſe. Martinico alſo furniſhed ſome inhabitants, whoſe poſſeſſions were either not ſufficiently fertile, or too much confined, and traders who devoted part of their ſtock to huſbandry. Each of theſe has obtained the free grant of a ſpot of land proportioned to his powers. Thoſe whoſe means were ſmall, have confined themſelves to ſuch labours as required no great advances. Thoſe who were richer have ſoared to greater undertakings.

THERE are already nine pariſhes on the colony, eight to leeward, and only one to windward. This preference given to one part of the iſland, is not for the ſake of a better ſoil, but for the conveniency of the ſhipping. In time, that part that was neglected at firſt, will likewiſe be inhabited, as there are bays continually diſcovered, in which canoes may put in, and receive all kinds of commodities on board.

A ROAD which goes all round the iſland, and two others that croſs it from eaſt to weſt, are very convenient for carrying the produce of the plantations to the landing places. In proceſs of time, and with ſome expence, theſe roads will be brought to a much greater degree of perfection than it was poſſible they ſhould be at firſt, without running into expences too burdenſome for a ſettlement in its infant ſtate. The interruptions occaſioned by the making theſe roads, have unavoidably retarded the culture of the lands, and excited much murmuring,

BOOK IV.

but the coloniſts now begin to bleſs the wiſe and ſteady hand that has ordered and conducted this work for their benefit.

On the firſt of January, 1772, the population of the white people in the iſland amounted to 2018 ſouls, men, women, and children; that of the blacks to 663 freemen, and 12,795 ſlaves. The cattle conſiſted of 928 mules or horſes, 2070 head of horned cattle, and 3184 ſheep or goats. There were thirty-eight ſugar-plantations, which occupied 978 pieces of land; 5,395,889 coffee-trees; 1,321,600 cocoa plants; and 367 plots of cotton. They were divided into ſeven hundred and ſix dwelling places. The preſent produce is four millions of livres, (175,000*l.*) a revenue which for ſome time to come muſt increaſe one-eighth every year.

A general prejudice prevailed in theſe iſlands againſt St. Lucia. It was ſaid, that nature had refuſed it every advantage neceſſary to form a colony of any importance. In the opinion of the public, its dry and ſtony ſoil could never pay the expence of manuring. The inclemency of the climate would infallibly deſtroy every man, who, from a greedy deſire of enriching himſelf, or who driven by deſpair, ſhould be bold enough to ſettle there. Theſe notions were univerſally received.

Successful experience muſt at length undeceive the moſt prejudiced perſon. The ſoil of St. Lucia is not a bad one even by the ſea ſide, and grows better the further we advance up the country. The whole of the iſland may be cultivated with ſucceſs, except ſome high and craggy mountains, which bear evident marks of old volcanoes. In one deep valley there are ſtill eight or ten ponds, the water of which boils up in a moſt dreadful manner, and retains ſome of its heat at the diſtance

tance of ſix thouſand toiſes from its reſervoirs. There are not indeed many extenſive plains on the iſland, but ſeveral ſmall ones, where the growth of ſugar may be carried to fifteen millions weight. The ſhape of the iſland, which is long and narrow, will make the carriage eaſy, wherever the canes are planted.

THE air in the inland parts of St. Lucia, is the ſame as it was in all other iſlands before they were inhabited, foul and unwholeſome at firſt; but leſs noxious as the woods are cleared, and the ground laid open. The air on ſome part of the ſea-coaſt is more unhealthy. On the leeward ſide the lands receive ſome ſmall rivers, which ſpringing from the foot of the mountains, have not a ſlope ſufficient to waſh down the ſands with which the influx of the ocean choaks up their mouths. Stopped by this inſurmountable barrier, they ſpread into unwholeſome moraſſes upon the neighbouring grounds. So obvious a reaſon had been ſufficient to drive away the few Caribs who were found upon the iſland when it was firſt diſcovered. The French, driven into the new world by a more powerful motive than even ſelf-preſervation, have been leſs careful than the ſavages. It is in this very ſpot that they have chiefly fixed their plantations. They will ſooner or later be puniſhed for their blind rapaciouſneſs, unleſs they erect dikes, and dig canals, to drain off the waters. The health they enjoy along the rivers, where the ſhips are careened, and thoſe in which the rain waters are collected, which fall into deeper bays, ſeem to indicate that this expedient would ſucceed.

THE character and abilities of the Earl of Ennery, the founder of this colony, authorize us to affirm, that when this iſland, which is about forty-five leagues in circumference, has attained the degree of cultivation it

BOOK IV.

is capable of, it may employ fifty thouſand ſlaves, and furniſh trade with commodities to the amount of ten millions (437,500*l.*) yearly. This period of proſperity cannot even be far off, as the activity of the planters is releaſed from thoſe fetters which have retarded their progreſs every where elſe. Fifty men, appointed to maintain public order, are all the troops they have at St. Lucia. They pay no taxes, directly nor indirectly. Ships of all nations are admitted into their roads, and pay nothing at coming in or going out. Every one is free to bring thither what goods he can ſell at the cheapeſt rate, and to carry away ſuch commodities as will fetch the beſt price. Ever ſince Europe has acquired poſſeſſions in America, none has met with more indulgence. Such ſingular favour muſt undoubtedly have a period, and this iſland, like all the others, will one day be brought under the yoke of reſtrictive laws. But a few years peace and freedom will enable her to bear this burden.

Schemes of France to ſecure to itſelf the poſſeſſion of St. Lucia.

BEFORE this burden is impoſed, the mother country will take care to ſecure to herſelf the produce of an iſland which ſhe has put into a flouriſhing condition. To keep poſſeſſion of it, it will be ſufficient to defend the Careenage harbour.

THIS famous harbour unites many advantages. It has good ſoundings every where, with an excellent bottom. Nature has provided it with three careening places, which make a wharf needleſs, and only require the capſtern to heave the ſhip down on the ſhore. Thirty ſhips of the line might ride ſafely there, and be ſheltered from the hurricanes, without the trouble of mooring. The boats of that country, which have lain there for a long while, have never been injured by the worms; it is not, however, expected that this advantage will continue, whatever may be the immediate cauſe

cauſe of it. The winds are always favourable for going out; and the largeſt ſquadron would be cleared out in leſs than an hour.

So favourable a ſituation is able not only to defend all the national poſſeſſions, but alſo to threaten thoſe of the enemy throughout America. The naval forces of England cannot cover all parts. The ſmalleſt ſquadron ſent out from St. Lucia, would in a few days invade thoſe colonies, which, being leaſt expoſed, would think themſelves quite ſecure. The only way to prevent miſchief from that quarter, would be to block up the Careenage; and even then, the purport of ſo coſtly and tireſome a cruize might be defeated, by a man who ſhould be daring enough to undertake all that can be atchieved at ſea.

THIS harbour is ſubject to the inconvenience of expoſing every ſhip that comes within ſight; and has never appeared worthy the attention of the Britiſh nation, though too powerful and too enlightened not to conſider, that ſhips are to protect the roads, and not the roads the ſhips. With regard to France, this harbour affords the greateſt maritime defence, a poſition that will not allow a ſhip under ſail to enter. She muſt be warped for a conſiderable ſpace before ſhe can get into it. There is no plying to windward between the two points. The ſoundings increaſing ſuddenly near the land from twenty-five to a hundred fathom, will not permit the aſſailants to come to an anchor. Only one ſhip can come in at a time, and ſhe would be expoſed to the fire of three maſked batteries, in front and on both ſides.

A SHIP that would attack the harbour, would be under a neceſſity of landing at Shoque-bay, a ſhore a league long, which is only parted from the Careenage by the point called Vigie, which forms this bay. Once maſter

BOOK IV.

of the Vigie, the enemy would ſink every ſhip in the harbour, or leaſt compel them to bring to; and that without any loſs on their ſide, becauſe this peninſula, though commanded by a citadel, built on the other ſide of the harbour, would cover the aſſailants by its own back. They would only have occaſion for mortars, and neither fire a ſingle gun, nor endanger the life of one man.

It ſhutting up the entrance of the harbour againſt the enemy were ſufficient, it would be needleſs to fortify Vigie. The enemy might be kept out without this precaution; but the ſhips of our own nation muſt be protected. It is neceſſary that a ſmall ſquadron ſhould be able to ſet the Engliſh forces at defiance; compel them to block the place up; take advantage of their abſence or of ſome error they might fall into; all which cannot be effected without fortifying the top of the peninſula. It muſt be conſidered, that by thus multiplying the points of defence, a greater number of men will be wanted; but if there are any ſhips in the harbour, their ſailors and gunners may be employed in defending the Vigie, which they would do with the greater alacrity, as on this would depend the ſafety of the ſquadron. If there are no veſſels in the harbour, the Vigie will be left defenceleſs, for the following reaſon.

On the other ſide of the harbour there is an eminence, called the Fortunate Morne. The flat on the top offers one of thoſe favourable ſituations that are ſeldom to be met with, for erecting a citadel, which would require no leſs a force to attack it, than the beſt fortified place in Europe. This fortification, the plan of which is already laid, and will certainly one day be put in execution, will have the advantage of defending the Careenage bay on all ſides, of commanding all the eminences that ſurround it, and of making it impoſſible for the enemy

to

to enter; of ſecuring the town which is to be built on the back of the mountain, in ſhort, of hindering the aſſailants from penetrating into the iſland, even if they had actually landed at Shoque, and made themſelves maſters of Vigie. Further diſcuſſions on the means of preſerving St. Lucia muſt be left to the profeſſors of the art. Let us now fix the attention of the reader on Martinico.

The French ſettle at Martinico upon the ruins of the Caribs.

THIS iſland is ſixteen leagues in breadth, and forty-five in circumference, leaving out the capes, which ſometimes extend two or three leagues into the ſea. It is very uneven, and interſected in all parts by a number of hillocks, which are moſtly of a conical form. Three mountains riſe above theſe leſſer eminences. The higheſt bears the indelible marks of a volcano. The woods with which this is covered, continually attract the clouds, which occaſions noxious damps, and contributes to make it horrid and inacceſſible, whilſt the two others are in moſt parts cultivated. From theſe mountains, but chiefly from the firſt, iſſue the many ſprings that water the iſland. Theſe waters, which flow in gentle ſtreams, are changed into torrents on the ſlighteſt ſtorm. Their quality partakes of the nature of the ſoil they traverſe; in ſome places they are excellent, in others ſo bad, that the inhabitants are obliged to drink the water they have collected in the rainy ſeaſon.

DENAMBUC, who had ſent to reconnoitre Martinico, ſailed from St. Chriſtopher's in 1635 to ſettle his nation there; for he would not have it peopled from Europe. He foreſaw that men, tired with the fatigue of a long voyage, would for the moſt part periſh ſoon after their arrival, either from the climate, or from the hardſhips incident to moſt emigrations. The ſole founders of this new colony were a hundred men who had long lived in his government of St. Chriſtopher's. They were brave,

BOOK IV.

brave, active, inured to labour and fatigues; ſkilful in tilling the ground and erecting habitations; abundantly provided with potatoe plants and all neceſſary ſeeds.

THEY completed their firſt ſettlement very quietly. The natives, intimidated by the fire-arms, or ſeduced by fair promiſes, gave up to the French the weſtern and ſouthern parts of the iſland, and retired to the other. This tranquillity was of ſhort duration. The Caribs, when they ſaw theſe enterpriſing ſtrangers daily increaſing, were convinced that their ruin was inevitable, unleſs they could extirpate them; and they therefore called in the ſavages of the neighbouring iſlands to their aſſiſtance. They fell jointly upon a little fort that had been accidentally erected; but they met with ſuch a warm reception, that they thought proper to retreat, leaving ſeven or eight hundred of their beſt warriors dead upon the ſpot. After this check they diſappeared for a long while, and when they came back, it was with preſents and penitent ſpeeches. They were received in a friendly manner, and the reconciliation was ſealed with ſome pots of brandy that were given them to drink.

THE labours had been carried on with difficulty till this period. The fear of a ſurpriſe obliged the coloniſts of three different habitations to meet every night in that which was in the center, and which was always kept in a ſtate of defence. There they ſlept ſecure, guarded by their dogs and a centinel. In the day time no one ventured out without his gun, and a brace of piſtols at his girdle. Theſe precautions were needleſs when the two nations came to be on friendly terms. But the one whoſe friendſhip and favour had been courted, took ſuch undue advantages of her ſuperiority, to extend her uſurpations, that ſhe ſoon rekindled a half extinguiſhed hatred in the breaſt of the other. The ſavages, whoſe manner

manner of life requires a vaſt extent of land, finding themſelves daily more ſtraightened, had recourſe to ſtratagem, to weaken an enemy whom they durſt not attack by force. They ſeparated into ſmall bands, waylayed the French, who frequented the woods, waited till the ſportſman had fired his piece, and before he had time to load it again, ruſhed upon him and deſtroyed him. Twenty men had been thus murdered, before any one was able to account for their diſappearance. As ſoon as the circumſtance was found out, the aggreſſors were purſued and beaten, their carbets burnt, their wives and children maſſacred, and thoſe few that eſcaped the carnage, fled from Martinico, and never appeared there after.

THE French, by this retreat, now become ſole maſters of the iſland, lived quietly upon thoſe ſpots which beſt ſuited their plantations. They were then divided into two claſſes. The firſt conſiſted of ſuch as had paid their paſſage to America: and theſe were called inhabitants. The government diſtributed lands to them, which became their abſolute property upon paying a yearly tribute. They were obliged to keep watch, by turns, and to contribute in proportion to their abilities towards the neceſſary expences for the public welfare and ſafety. Theſe had under their command a multitude of diſorderly people brought over from Europe at their expence whom they called, *engagés*, or bondſmen. This engagewent was a kind of ſlavery for the term of three years. When their time was expired, the bondſmen, by recovering their liberty, became the equals of thoſe whom they had ſerved.

THEY all confined themſelves at firſt to the culture of tobacco and cotton; to which was ſoon added that of the armotto and indigo. The culture of ſugar was not begun till about the year 1650. Benjamin Dacoſta,

one

BOOK IV.

one of thoſe Jews who are beholden for their induſtry to that very oppreſſion which their nation is now fallen under, after having exerciſed it upon others, planted ſome cocoa trees ten years after. His example was not followed till 1684, when the chocolate grew more common in France. Cocoa then became the principal dependence of the coloniſts who had not a ſufficient fund to undertake ſugar plantations. One of thoſe calamities which the ſeaſons bring on, ſometimes upon men and ſometimes upon plants, deſtroyed all the cocoa trees in 1718. This ſpread a general conſternation among the inhabitants of Martinico. The coffee tree was then held out to them as a plank to mariners after a ſhipwreck.

THE French miniſtry had received as a preſent from the Dutch two of theſe trees, which were carefully preſerved in the royal garden of plants. Two ſhoots were taken from theſe. Mr. Deſclieux, who was intruſted to carry them over to Martinico, happened to be on board a ſhip which fell ſhort of water. He ſhared with his young trees the portion that was allotted him for his own drinking; and by this generous ſacrifice, ſaved the precious truſt that had been put into his hands. His magnanimity was rewarded. The coffee throve at an amazing rate, and this virtuous patriot enjoys with a heart-felt ſatisfaction, the uncommon felicity of having as it were ſaved an important colony, and enriched it with a freſh branch of induſtry.

INDEPENDENT of this reſource, Martinico was poſſeſſed of thoſe natural advantages, which ſeemed to promiſe a ſpeedy and great fortune. Of all the French ſettlements, it is the moſt happily ſituated, with regard to the winds that prevail in thoſe ſeas. Its harbours poſſeſs the ineſtimable advantage of affording a certain ſhelter from the hurricanes which annoy theſe latitudes.

Its

Its ſituation having made it the ſeat of government, it has obtained moſt favours, and enjoyed the ableſt and moſt upright adminiſtration of them all. The enemy has conſtantly reſpected the valour of its inhabitants, and has ſeldom attacked it without having cauſe to repent. Its domeſtic peace has never been diſturbed, not even in 1717, when urged by a general diſcontent, the inhabitants ventured, boldly, indeed, but prudently, to ſend back to France a Governor and an Intendant, who oppreſſed the people under their deſpotiſm and rapaciouſneſs. The order, tranquillity and harmony, which they found means to preſerve in thoſe times of anarchy, were a proof that they were influenced rather by their averſion from tyranny, than by their impatience of authority; and ſerved in ſome meaſure to juſtify to the mother-country, a ſtep, which in itſelf might be conſidered as irregular, and contrary to the eſtabliſhed principles. Notwithſtanding all theſe advantages, Martinico, though in greater forwardneſs than the other French colonies, had made but little progreſs at the end of the laſt century. In 1700, they had but 6597 white men in all. The ſavages, mulattoes and free negroes, men, women and children, amounted to no more than 507. The number of ſlaves was but 14566. All theſe together, made a population of 21,640 perſons. The whole of the cattle was 3,668 horſes or mules, and 9,217 head of horned cattle. They grew a great quantity of cocoa, tobacco and cotton, and had nine indigo houſes, and one hundred and eighty-three ſmall ſugar plantations.

Proſperity of Martinico. Cauſes of it.

On the ceſſation of the long and bloody wars, which had ravaged all the continents, and been carried on upon all the ſeas of the world, and when France had relinquiſhed her projects of conqueſt, and thoſe principles of adminiſtration, by which ſhe had been ſo long miſled, Martinico emerged from that languid ſtate in which all

BOOK IV.

all theſe calamities had kept her, and ſoon roſe to a high pitch of proſperity. She became the mart for all the windward national ſettlements. It was in her ports that the neighbouring iſlands ſold their produce, and bought the commodities of the mother-country. The French navigators loaded and unloaded their ſhips no where elſe. Martinico was famous all over Europe. She was the object of ſpeculation, as a planter, as an agent to the other colonies, as a trader with Spaniſh and North America.

As a planter, ſhe poſſeſſed in 1736, 447 ſugar-works; 11,953,232 coffee trees; 193,870 of cocoa; 2,068,480 of cotton; 39,400 of tobacco; 6,750 of arnotto. Her proviſion of food conſiſted of 4,806,142 banana trees; 34,483,000 trenches of caſſava; and 247 plots of potatoes and yams. She had a population of 72,000 blacks, men, women and children. Their labour had improved her plantation to the higheſt pitch that was conſiſtent with the conſumption then made in Europe of American productions, and ſhe exported annually to the amount of ſixteen millions of livres, (700,000*l.*)

The connections of Martinico with the other iſlands intitled her to the profits of commiſſion and the charges of tranſport, as ſhe alone was in poſſeſſion of carriages. This profit might be rated at the tenth of the produce, and the ſum total muſt amount to 17 or 18 millions of livres, (on an average about 765,600*l.*) This ſtanding debt, ſeldom called in, was left them for the improvement of their plantations. It was increaſed by advances in money, ſlaves, and other neceſſary articles. Martinico thus becoming more and more a creditor to the other iſlands, kept them in a conſtant dependence, but without injuring them. They all enriched themſelves

themſelves by her aſſiſtance, and their profit was a benefit to her.

HER connections with Cape Breton, with Canada, and with Louiſiana, procured her a market for her ordinary ſugars, her inferior coffee, her molaſſes and rum, which would not ſell in France. They gave her in exchange, ſalt-fiſh, dried vegetables, deals and ſome flour. In her clandeſtine trade on the coaſt of Spaniſh America, conſiſting wholly of goods manufactured by the nation, ſhe was well paid for the riſques which the French merchants did not chuſe to run. This traffic, leſs important than the former as to its object, was much more lucrative in its effects. It commonly brought in a profit of ninety *per cent.* upon the value of four millions of livres, (175,000*l.*) yearly ſent to the Caraccas, or the neighbouring colonies.

So many proſperous operation had brought immenſe ſums into Martinico. Eighteen millions of livres, (787,500*l.*) were conſtantly circulated there with amazing rapidity. This is, perhaps, the only country in the world where the balance has ever been ſuch, as to make it a matter of indifference to them whether they dealt in minerals or commodities.

HER extenſive trade annually brought into her ports two hundred ſhips from France, fourteen or fifteen fitted out by the mother-country for the coaſt of Guinea, ſixty from Canada, ten or twelve from the iſlands of Margaretta and Trinidad; beſides the Engliſh and Dutch ſhips that ſlipped in to run goods. The private navigation from the iſland to the northern colonies, to the Spaniſh continent, and to the windward iſlands, employed a hundred and thirty veſſels from twenty to ſeventy tons burthen, manned with ſix hundred

BOOK IV.

dred European ſailors of all nations, and fifteen hundred ſlaves long inured to the ſea ſervice.

At firſt, the ſhips that frequented Martinico, uſed to land in thoſe parts where the plantations lay. This practice, ſeemingly the moſt natural, was liable to great inconveniences. The north and north-eaſterly winds, which blow upon part of the coaſts, keep the ſea in a conſtant and violent agitation. Though there are many good roads, they are either at a conſiderable diſtance from each other, or from moſt of the habitations. The ſloops deſtined to coaſt along this interval, were frequently forced by the weather to ſtand ſtill, or to take in but half their lading. Theſe croſſes retarded the loading and unloading of the ſhip; and the conſequence of theſe delays was, a waſte of the crew, and an increaſe of expence to the buyer and ſeller.

Commerce, which muſt always reckon among its greateſt advantages, that of procuring a quick return, could not but be impeded by another inconvenience, which was the neceſſity the trader lay under, even in the beſt latitudes, of diſpoſing of his cargo in ſmall parcels. If ſome induſtrious man undertook to ſave him that trouble, this enhanced the price of the goods to the coloniſts. The merchant's profit is to be rated in proportion to the quantity he ſells. The more he ſells, the more he can afford to abate of the profit which another muſt make who ſells leſs.

A worſe inconvenience than either of theſe was, that ſome places were overſtocked with ſome ſorts of European goods, whilſt others were in want of them. The owners of the ſhips were equally at a loſs to take in a proper lading. Moſt places did not afford all ſorts of commodities, nor every ſpecies of the ſame commodity. This deficiency obliged them to touch at ſeveral places,

or

or to carry away too much or too little of what was fit for the port where he was to unload. BOOK IV.

THE ſhips themſelves ſuffered many inconveniences. Several wanted careening, and moſt of them required ſome repair. The proper aſſiſtance on theſe occaſions was not to be found in the roads that were but little frequented, where workmen did not care to ſettle, for fear of not getting employment enough. They were therefore obliged to go and refit in ſome particular harbours, and then return to take in their lading at the place where they had made their ſale. Theſe ſhort voyages backward and forward took up at leaſt three or four months.

THESE and many more inconveniences made it very deſireable to ſome of the inhabitants and to all the navigators to eſtabliſh a magazine, where the colonies and the mother-country might ſend their reſpective matters of exchange. Nature ſeemed to point out Fort Royal as a fit place for this purpoſe. Its harbour was one of the beſt in all the windward iſlands, and ſo famed for its ſafety, that when it was open to the Dutch veſſels, they had orders from the republic to ſhelter there in June, July and Auguſt, from the hurricanes which are ſo frequent and ſo violent in thoſe latitudes. The lands of the Lamentin are diſtant but a league, and are the moſt fertile and richeſt of all the colony. The numerous rivers which water this fruitful country, convey loaded canoes almoſt as far as their mouths in the ſea. The protection of the fortifications ſecured the peaceable enjoyment of ſo many advantages, which, however, were balanced by a ſwampy and unwholeſome ſoil. Beſides, this capital of Martinico was the refuge of the men of war, which branch of the navy has always oppreſſed the merchant men. On this account, Fort Royal was an improper place to become

BOOK IV.

the center of buſineſs, which was therefore turned to St. Peter's.

THIS little town, which, notwithſtanding the fires that have reduced it four times to aſhes, ſtill contains 1748 houſes, is ſituated on the weſtern coaſt of the iſland in a bay or inlet which is almoſt circular. One part of it is built on the ſtrand along the ſea-ſide; which is called the anchorage; and is the place for the ſhips and warehouſes. The other part of the town ſtands upon a low hill: it is called the Fort, from a ſmall fortification that was built there in 1665, to check the ſeditions of the inhabitants againſt the tyranny of monopoly; but it now ſerves to protect the road from foreign enemies. Theſe two parts of the town are ſeparated by a rivulet or fordable river.

THE anchorage ſtands at the foot of a pretty high and perpendicular hill. Shut up as it were by this hill, which intercepts the eaſterly winds, the moſt conſtant and moſt ſalubrious in theſe parts; expoſed, without one refreſhing breeze, to the ſcorching beams of the ſun, reflected from the hill, from the ſea, and the black ſand on the beach; this place is extremely hot, and always unwholeſome. Beſides, there is no harbour, and the ſhips, which cannot winter ſafely upon this coaſt, are obliged to take ſhelter at Fort Royal. But theſe diſadvantages are compenſated by the conveniency of the road of St. Peter's, for loading and unloading of goods; and by its ſituation, which is ſuch, that ſhips can freely go in and out at all times, and with all winds.

THIS village was the firſt that was built, peopled, and cultivated on the iſland. It is, however, not ſo much on account of its antiquity as of its convenience, that it is become the center of communication between the colony and the mother country. At firſt, St. Peter's

was

was the ſtorehouſe for the commodities of ſome diſtricts, which lay along ſuch dreary and tempeſtuous coaſts, that no ſhip could ever get at them, ſo that the inhabitants could carry on no trade without removing elſewhere. The agents for theſe coloniſts in thoſe early times, where no other than the maſters of ſmall veſſels, who having made themſelves known by continually ſailing about the iſland, were enticed by the proſpect of gain, to fix upon a ſettled place for their reſidence. Honeſty was the only ſupport of this intercourſe: moſt of theſe agents could not read. None of them kept any books or journals. They had a trunk, in which they kept a ſeparate bag for each perſon whoſe buſineſs they tranſacted. Into this bag they put the produce of the ſales, and took out what money they wanted for the purchaſes. When the bag was empty, the commiſſion was at an end. This confidence, which muſt appear fabulous in our days of degeneracy and diſhoneſty, was yet common at the beginning of this century. There are ſome perſons ſtill living, who have carried on this trade, where the employer had no other ſecurity for the fidelity of his agent, but the benefit reſulting from it.

These plain men were ſucceſſively replaced by more enlightened perſons from Europe. Some had gone over to the colony, when it was taken out of the hands of the excluſive companies. Their number increaſed as the commodities multiplied; and they themſelves contributed greatly to the extending of the plantations by the loans they advanced to the planters, whoſe labours had till then gone on but ſlowly for want of ſuch help. This conduct made them the neceſſary agents for their debtors in the colony, as they were already for their employers at home. Even the coloniſt who owed them nothing was in ſome meaſure dependent on them, as he might poſſibly hereafter ſtand in need of their aſſiſtance.

BOOK IV.

Suppoſe his crop ſhould fail or be retarded, a plantation of ſugar-canes be ſet on fire, or a mill blown down: if his buildings ſhould fall, mortality carry off his cattle or his ſlaves; or that every thing ſhould he deſtroyed by drought or heavy rains; where could he find the means of ſupporting himſelf during theſe calamities, or of repairing the loſs occaſioned by them? Theſe means are in twenty different hands. If only one refuſes his aſſiſtance, the diſtreſs muſt neceſſarily increaſe. Theſe conſiderations induced ſuch as had not yet borrowed money, to truſt the agents of St. Peter's with their concerns, in order to ſecure a reſource in times of diſtreſs.

The few rich inhabitants, whoſe fortunes ſeemed to place them above theſe wants, were in a manner compelled to apply to this factory. The trading captains, finding a port where they could conclude their buſineſs to the beſt advantage, without ſtirring out of their warehouſes, or even out of their ſhips, forſook Fort Royal, Trinity Fort, and all the other places where an arbitrary price was put upon the commodities, and where the payments were ſlow and uncertain. By this revolution the coloniſts being confined to their works, which require their conſtant preſence and daily attendance, could no longer go out to diſpoſe of their produce. They were therefore obliged to intruſt it to able men, who being ſettled at the only frequented ſea-port, were at hand to ſeize the moſt favourable opportunities for buying and ſelling; an ineſtimable advantage this, in a country where trade is continually fluctuating. Guadaloupe and Granada followed this example, induced by the ſame motives.

The war of 1744 put a ſtop to this proſperity; not that the fault was in Martinico itſelf. Its navy conſtantly exerciſed and accuſtomed to the exertions requiſite for carrying on a contraband trade, was ready trained

ed up for action. In leſs than ſix months, forty privateers, fitted out at St. Peter's, ſpread themſelves about the latitudes of the Leeward iſlands. They ſignaliſed themſelves in a manner worthy of the ancient free-booters. They were conſtantly returning in triumph and laden with an immenſe booty. Yet in the midſt of theſe ſucceſſes, an entire ſtop was put to the navigation of the colony, both to the Spaniſh coaſt and to Canada, and they were conſtantly even diſturbed on their own coaſts. The few ſhips that came from France to make up their goods, the riſques they ran, ſold for very dear, and bought at a very low price. The produce being thus under-rated, the lands were but poorly cultivated, the works neglected and ſlaves ſtarved. Every thing was in a languid ſtate, and falling to decay. The peace at laſt reſtored the freedom of trade, and with it, the hopes of recovering the ancient proſperity of the iſland. The event did not anſwer the pains that were taken to attain it.

Decay of Martinico and the cauſe.

NOT two years after the ceſſation of hoſtilities, the colony loſt the contraband trade ſhe carried on with the American Spaniards. This revolution was not owing to the vigilance of the guarda-coſtas. As it is more the intereſt of the traders to dare them, than theirs to defend themſelves; the former are apt to deſpiſe men who are poorly paid to protect ſuch rights, or enforce ſuch prohibitions as are oftentimes unjuſt. The ſubſtituting regiſter-ſhips to fleets was the cauſe that confined the attempts of the ſmugglers within very narrow limits. In the new ſyſtem, the number of ſhips was undetermined, and the time of their arrival uncertain; which occaſioned a variation in the price of goods, unknown before. From that time the ſmuggler, who only engaged in this trade from the certainty of a fixt and conſtant profit, would no longer purſue it when it did not ſecure an equivalent to the riſques he ran.

BOOK IV.

But this loſs was not ſo ſenſibly felt by the colony, as the hardſhips brought upon them by the mother country. An unſkilful adminiſtration clogged the reciprocal and neceſſary connection between the iſlands and North-America, with ſo many formalities, that in 1755 Martinico ſent but four veſſels to Canada. The direction of the colonies, now fallen into the hands of greedy and ignorant clerks, was ſoon degraded, ſank into contempt, and was proſtituted into venality.

But the trade of France was not yet affected by the decay of Martinico. Our countrymen found traders in the road of St. Peter's, who paid them well for their cargoes, and ſent their ſhips home with expedition and richly laden; and they never inquired whether it was from this or the other colonies that the conſumptions and produce aroſe. Even the negroes ſent thither ſold very well; but few remained there. The chief part were ſent to the Grenades, to Guadalupe, and even to the Neutral iſlands, which, notwithſtanding the unlimited freedom they enjoyed, preferred the ſlaves brought by the French, to thoſe which the Engliſh offered, on ſeemingly better terms. They were convinced from long experience, that the choice negroes, who coſt the moſt, enriched their lands, whilſt the plantations did not thrive in the hands of the negroes bought at a lower price. But theſe profits of the mother country were foreign and rather hurtful to Martinico.

She had not yet repaired her loſſes during the peace, nor paid off the debts which a ſeries of calamities had obliged her to contract; when war, the greateſt of all evils, broke out afreſh. It was a ſeries of misfortunes for France, which, after repeated ſtrokes, and loſſes, made Martinico fall into the hands of the Engliſh. It was reſtored in July 1763, ſixteen months after it had been

been conquered; but ſtript of all the neceſſary means of proſperity, that had raiſed it to ſo great a degree of proſperity. For ſome years paſt, the contraband trade carried on to the Spaniſh coaſts was almoſt entirely loſt. The ceſſion of Canada had cut off all hopes of once more opening a communication, which had only been interrupted by tranſient errors. The productions of the Grenades, St. Vincent, and Dominica, which were now become Britiſh dominions, could no longer be brought into their harbours; and a new regulation of the mother country, which forbad her holding any intercourſe with Guadalupe, left her no hopes from that quarter.

Preſent ſtate of Martinico

THE colony thus ſtript, and left to itſelf, nevertheleſs contained, at the laſt ſurvey, which was taken on the firſt of January, 1770, in the compaſs of twenty-eight pariſhes, 12,450 white people of all ages and of both ſexes; 1814 free blacks or mulattos; 70,553 ſlaves; and 443 fugitive negroes. The whole population of the iſland amounted to 84,817 ſouls. The number of births in 1766, was in the proportion of one in thirty amongſt the white people, and of one in twenty-five amongſt the blacks. From this obſervation, if it were conſtant, it ſhould ſeem that the climate of America is much more favourable to the propagation of the Africans than of the Europeans; ſince the former multiply ſtill more in the labours and hardſhips of ſlavery, than the latter in the midſt of plenty and freedom. The conſequence muſt be, that in proceſs of time the increaſe of blacks in America will ſurpaſs that of the white men; and, perhaps, at laſt avenge this race of victims on the deſcendents of the oppreſſors.

THE cattle of the colony conſiſts of 8283 horſes or mules; 12,376 head of horned cattle; 975 hogs; and 13,544 ſheep or goats.

THEIR

BOOK IV.

THEIR proviſions are 17,930,596 trenches of caſſava; 3,509,048 banana trees; and 406 ſquares and a half of yams and potatoes.

THEIR plantations contain 11,444 ſquares of land, planted with ſugar; 6,638,757 coffee-trees; 871,043 cocoa-trees; 1,764,807 cotton plants; 59,966 trees of caſſia, and ſixty-one of arnotto.

HER meadows or ſavannahs, take up 10,072 ſquares of land; there are 11,966 in wood; and 8448 uncultivated or forſaken.

THE plantations which produce coffee, cotton, cocoa, and other things of leſs importance, are 1515 in number. There are but 286 for ſugar. They employ 116 water-mills, twelve wind-mills, and 184 turned by oxen. Before the hurricane of the 13th of Auguſt, 1766, there were 302 ſmall habitations, and fifteen ſugar-works more.

IN 1769 France imported from Martinico, upon two hundred and two trading veſſels, 177,116 quintals of fine ſugar, and 12,579 quintals of raw ſugar; 68,518 quintals of coffee; 11,731 quintals of cocoa; 6048 quintals of cotton; 2518 quintals of caſſia; 783 caſks of rum; 307 caſks of ſyrup; 150 pounds of indigo; 2147 pounds of preſerved fruits; forty-ſeven pounds of chocolate; 282 pounds of raſped tobacco; 494 pounds of rope-yarn; 234 cheſts of liqueurs; 234 barrels of molaſſes; &c. &c. 451 quintals of wood for dying; and 12,108 hides in the hair. All theſe productions together have been bought in the colony itſelf, for 12,965,862 livres fourteen ſols. (536,631*l.* 9*s.* 10*d.*): It is true, that the colony has received from the mother country to the amount of 13,449,436 livres (588,412*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.*) of goods; but part of theſe have been ſent away

away to the Spaniſh coaſts and another part has been conveyed to the Engliſh ſettlements.

ALL thoſe who from inſtinct or duty wiſh well to the intereſt of their country, cannot ſee without regret that ſo excellent a colony as Martinico, ſhould furniſh ſo ſmall a quantity of commodities, a part of which even is brought from other places. It is well known, indeed, that the center of the iſland, full of horrid rocks, is unfit for the culture of ſugar, coffee, or cotton; that too much moiſture would be hurtful to theſe productions; and that, ſhould they ſucceed, the charges of carriage acroſs mountains and precipices would abſorb the profits of the crops. But in this large ſpace, meadows would turn to very good account. The ſoil is excellent for paſture, and only wants the attention of government to furniſh the inhabitants with the neceſſary increaſe of cattle, both for labour and food. There are others ſpots on the iſland, where the ſoil is ungrateful. Some are alternately ſpoilt by drought and rain, ſome are marſhy, and almoſt always overflown by the ſea. There are others where nothing will grow, except thoſe aquatic plants known by the general name of mangroves, but of various ſpecies, and very unlike each other. In other parts, the ground is ſo ſtony, that it cannot be improved by labour, or ſo much exhauſted, that it is not worth manuring.

To theſe inconveniences, which ariſe from the nature of things, muſt be added a terrible plague it has experienced from the ants; a ſpecies of inſects formerly unknown in America. Some time ago, they ravaged Barbadoes ſo dreadfully, that it was a matter of deliberation whether that iſland formerly ſo flouriſhing, ſhould not be evacuated. This calamity had greatly diminiſhed there; when in 1763 it began to be felt at Martinico. The miſchief theſe inſects have done to ſeveral parts of the

BOOK IV.

the colony is inexpreſſible. All the uſeful vegetables have been deſtroyed; the quadrupeds have been unable to ſubſiſt there; the largeſt trees have been infeſted in ſuch a manner that even the leaſt delicate birds would not fix upon them. It was not without the greateſt precautions that the children were preſerved from being devoured; that the women could be ſupported till they lay in; or that the men could ſubſiſt. It was apprehended that this numberleſs and devouring race would ſpread all over Martinico. Happily this formidable ravage has been ſtopped in its beginning, and ſeems very ſenſibly to be totally going off; but the lands infected with this poiſon, yield only to the cultivation of coffee, and will not produce ſugar.

PREVIOUS to this evil, thoſe obſervers who were beſt acquainted with the colony, were all of opinion, that its plantations were ſuſceptible of improvement, and might be increaſed about one fourth part. Its preſent ſituation is far from encouraging ſuch flattering hopes.

Whether the ſtate of Martinico can be improved?

THE proprietors of the lands on the iſland may be divided into four claſſes. The firſt are poſſeſſed of an hundred large ſugar plantations, in which twelve thouſand negroes are employed. The ſecond have one hundred and fifty, worked by nine thouſand blacks. The third poſſeſs thirty, with two thouſand blacks. The fourth, devoted to the culture of coffee, cotton, cocoa, and caſſava, may employ twelve thouſand negroes. The remaining ſlaves of both ſexes are engaged in domeſtic ſervices, in fiſhing on in navigation.

THE firſt claſs conſiſts entirely of rich people. Their culture is carried to the higheſt degree of perfection, and they can afford to keep it up in the flouriſhing ſtate to which they have brought it. Even the expences they muſt be at for replacing deficiencies, are not ſo great as thoſe of the leſs wealthy planter, as the ſlaves born upon

theſe

theſe plantations, ſupply the place of thoſe deſtroyed by time and labour. BOOK IV.

THE ſecond claſs, which is that of planters in eaſy circumſtances, have but half the hands that would be neceſſary to get a fortune equal to that of the opulent proprietors. If they could even afford to buy the number of ſlaves they want, they would be deterred from it by fatal experience. Nothing is ſo pernicious as putting a great number of freſh negroes at once upon a plantation. The ſickneſſes thoſe miſerable wretches are liable to, from a change of climate and diet; the trouble of inuring them to a kind of labour which they are not accuſtomed to, and which they diſlike, cannot but diſguſt a planter, from the conſtant and laborious attention he muſt pay to this training up of men for the cultivation of land. The moſt active proprietor is he who is able to increaſe his works by one ſixth of the number of ſlaves every year. Thus the ſecond claſs might acquire fifteen hundred ſlaves yearly, if the net produce of their lands would admit of it. But they muſt not expect to meet with credit. The merchants in France do not ſeem diſpoſed to truſt them; and thoſe who circulated their ſtock in the colony, no ſooner ſaw it uſeleſs or in danger, but they removed it to Europe, or to St. Domingo.

THE third claſs, which is but one remove from indigence, cannot amend their ſituation by any means to be deviſed in the natural courſe of trade. It is much if they can ſubſiſt by themſelves. The beneficent hand of government can alone impart life to them, and make them uſeful to the ſtate, by lending them without intereſt the ſums they may want, to raiſe their plantations. Theſe might venture upon freſh negroes, without the inconveniences which belong to the ſecond claſs, becauſe each

BOOK IV.

each planter having fewer ſlaves to look after, will be able to attend more cloſely to thoſe he may purchaſe.

THE fourth claſs, who deal in articles of leſs conſequence than ſugars, do not ſtand in need of ſuch powerful helps, to recover that eaſe and plenty from which they are fallen, by war, hurricanes, and other misfortunes. Could theſe two laſt claſſes but make an acquiſition of fifteen hundred ſlaves every year, it would be ſufficient to raiſe them to that degree of proſperity to which their induſtry naturally intitles them.

THUS Martinico might hope to revive her drooping plantations, and recover the firſt ſplendor to which her diligence had raiſed her, if ſhe could get a yearly acceſſion of three thouſand negroes. But it is well-known that ſhe is not in a condition to pay for theſe recruits. She owes the mother-country, for balance of trade, about a million. (43,750*l.*) A ſeries of misfortunes has obliged her to borrow four millions (175000*l.* of the merchants ſettled in the town of St. Peter's. The engagements ſhe has entered into on account of divided inheritances, and thoſe ſhe has contracted for the purchaſe of a number of plantations, have made her inſolvent. This deſperate ſituation will neither allow her the means of retrieving ſoon, nor the ambition of purſuing that road to fortune which once lay open to her.

Whether Martinico can be conquered.

ADD to this, that ſhe ſtands expoſed to invaſion. But though there are a hundred places where the enemy may land, yet they will never make the attempt. It would be to no purpoſe, becauſe of the impoſſibility of bringing up the artillery and ammunition, acroſs ſuch a rugged country to Fort Royal, which defends the whole colony. It is in this latitude only that the enemy would fail for ſuch an attempt.

IN

In the front of this ſtrong place, is a famous harbour ſituated on the ſide of a broad bay, that cannot be entered without many tackings, which muſt decide the fate of any ſhip that is forced to avoid fighting. If ſhe happens to be unrigged, or is a bad ſailor, or meets with ſome accident from the variations of the ſqualls of wind, the currents, or whirlpools, ſhe will fall into the hands of an aſſailant that is a better ſailor. The fortreſs itſelf may become an uſeleſs, and inglorious ſpectator of the defeat of a whole ſquadron, as it has been a hundred times of the taking of merchant ſhips.

The inſide of the harbour is much injured on account of the hulks of ſeveral ſhips that have been ſunk there, to keep out the Engliſh in the laſt war. Theſe veſſels have been taken up again: but it will ſtill require a great deal of expence to remove the heaps of ſand which are gathered about them, and to put matters in the ſame ſtate they were before. This work will not admit of any delay; for the port, though not very ſpacious, is the only one where ſhips of all rates can winter; the only one where they will find maſts, ſails, cables, and excellent water, which is brought there from the diſtance of a league by a very well-contrived canal, and which may be eaſily procured.

An enemy will always land near to this harbour, and there is no preventing it, whatever precautions are taken. The war could not long be carried on againſt them in the field, and the people would ſoon be reduced to ſhut themſelves up in their fortifications.

They formerly had no other fortification than Fort Royal, where immenſe ſums had been ignorantly buried under a ridge of mountains. All the knowledge of the ableſt engineers has never been ſufficient to give any

BOOK IV.

any degree of ſtrength or ſolidity to works erected at random, by the moſt unſkillful hands, and without any ſort of plan. They have been obliged to content themſelves with adding a covered way, a rampart and flanks, to ſuch parts of the place as would admit of it. But the work of the moſt conſequence has been to cut into the rock, which eaſily gives way, and to dig ſubterraneous rooms, which are airy, wholeſome, and fit to keep warlike ſtores and proviſions, as alſo to ſhelter the ſick and to defend the ſoldiers, and ſuch of the inhabitants whoſe attachment to their country would inſpire them with courage to defend the colony. It has been thought that men who were ſure of finding a ſafe retreat in theſe caverns after having expoſed their lives on the ramparts, would ſoon forget their fatigues, and face the enemy with freſh vigour. This was a good thought, and muſt have been ſuggeſted, if not by a patriotic government, at leaſt by ſome ſenſible and humane miniſter.

But the bravery this muſt inſpire, could not be ſufficient to preſerve a place which is commanded on all ſides. It was therefore thought adviſeable to look out for ſome more advantageous ſituation, and this they found on the point called *Morne Garnier*, higher by thirty-five or forty feet than the higheſt tops of Patate, Tortenſon, and Cartouche, all which overlook Fort Royal.

Upon this eminence a citadel has been raiſed, conſiſting of four baſtions. The baſtions in front, the covered way, the reſervoirs for water, the powder magazines; all theſe means of defence are ready, and it cannot be long before the reſt will be finiſhed. Nothing will ſoon remain to be conſtructed but the cazerno, and other neceſſary buildings. If even the redoubts and the batteries intended to force the enemy to make their

their deſcent at a greater diſtance than Caſco bay, where they landed at the laſt invaſion, ſhould not take the effect that is expected from them; yet ſtill the colony would be able to reſiſt about three months. Fifteen hundred men will defend the *Morne Garnier* for thirty or ſix and thirty days againſt an army of fifteen thouſand; and twelve hundred men will ſuſtain themſelves for twenty or five and twenty days in Fort Royal which cannot be attacked till *Garnier* has been taken. This is all that can be expected from an expence of ſeven or eight millions of livres. (About 328,000*l.* on an average.)

THOSE who are of opinion that the navy alone ought to protect the colonies, think that ſo conſiderable an expence has been miſapplied. Unable as we were, ſay they, to erect fortifications and to build ſhips at the ſame time, we ought to have preferred the indiſpenſable to the ſecondary calls. Eſpecially if the impetuoſity in the character of the French diſpoſes them to attack rather than to defend, we ought ſooner to deſtroy than erect fortreſſes; or we ſhould build none but ſhips, thoſe moveable ramparts, which carry war with them, inſtead of ſitting ſtill to wait for it. Any power that aims at trade, and the eſtabliſhment of colonies, muſt have ſhips, which bring in men and wealth, and increaſe population and circulation, whereas baſtions and ſoldiers are only fit to conſume men and proviſions. All that the court of Verſailles can expect from the expence ſhe has been at in Martinico, is, that if the iſland ſhould be attacked by the only enemy ſhe has to fear, there will be time enough to relieve her. The Engliſh proceed ſlowly in a ſiege; they always go on by rule, and nothing diverts them from completing any works that concern the ſafety of the aſſailants; for they eſteem the life of a ſoldier of more conſequence than

BOOK IV.

than the loſs of time. This maxim ſo ſenſible in itſelf, is perhaps miſapplied in the deſtructive climate of America; but it is the maxim of a people, whoſe ſoldier is engaged in the ſervice of the ſtate, not a hireling paid by his prince. But whatever be the future fate of Martinico, it is now time to enquire into the preſent ſtate of Guadalupe.

Calamities experienced by the French who firſt ſettle at Guadalupe.

THIS iſland, which is of an irregular form, may be about eighty leagues in circumference. It is parted in two by a ſmall arm of the ſea, which is not above two leagues long, and from fifteen to forty fathom broad. This canal, known by the name of the ſalt river, is navigable, but will only carry veſſels of fifty tons burthen.

THAT part of the iſland which gives its name to the whole colony, is, towards the center, full of craggy rocks, and ſo cold that nothing will grow there but fern, and ſome uſeleſs ſhrubs covered with moſs. On the top of theſe rocks, a mountain called *la Soufbriere*, or the Brimſtone mountain, riſes to an immenſe height into the middle region of the air. It exhales through various openings a thick black ſmoke, intermixed with ſparks that are viſible by night. From all theſe hills flow numberleſs ſprings, which fertilize the plains below, and moderate the burning heat of the climate, by a refreſhing ſtream, ſo celebrated, that the galleons which formerly uſed to touch at the windward iſlands, had orders to renew their proviſion with this pure and ſalubrious water. Such is that part of the iſland properly called Guadalupe. That which is commonly called Grande Terre, has not been ſo much favoured by nature. It is indeed leſs rugged, but it wants ſprings and rivers. The ſoil is not ſo fertile, or the climate ſo wholeſome or ſo pleaſant.

No European nation had yet poſſeſſed this iſland, when five hundred and fifty Frenchmen, led on by two gentlemen

tlemen named Loline and Dupleſſis, arrived there from Dieppe on the 28th of June 1635. They had been very imprudent in their preparations. Their proviſions were ſo ill choſen, that they were ſpoilt in the paſſage; and they had ſhipped ſo few, that they were exhauſted in two months. They were ſupplied with none from the mother country. St. Chriſtopher's, whether from ſcarcity or deſign, refuſed to ſpare them any; and their firſt attempts in huſbandry they made in the country could not as yet afford any thing. No reſource was left for the colony but from the ſavages; but the ſuperfluities of a people, who cultivate but little, and therefore had never laid up any ſtores could not be very conſiderable. The new comers, not content with what the ſavages might bring of their own accord, came to a reſolution to plunder them; and hoſtilities commenced on the 16th of January 1636.

The Caribs, not thinking themſelves in a condition openly to reſiſt an enemy, who had ſo much the advantage from the ſuperiority of their arms, deſtroyed their own proviſions and plantations, and retired to Grande Terre, or to the neighbouring iſlands. From thence the moſt deſperate came over to the iſland from which they had been driven, and concealed themſelves in the thickeſt of the foreſts. In the day-time they ſhot with their poiſoned arrows, or knocked down with their clubs, all the French who were ſcattered about for hunting or fiſhing. In the night, they burned the houſes and deſtroyed the plantations of their unjuſt ſpoilers.

A dreadful famine was the conſequence of this kind of war. The coloniſts were reduced to graze in the fields, to eat their own excrements, and to dig up dead bodies for their ſubſiſtence. Many who had been ſlaves

BOOK IV.

at Algiers, deteſted the hands that had broken their fetters; and all of them curſed their exiſtence. It was in this manner that they atoned for the crime of their invaſion, till the government of Aubert brought about a peace with the ſavages at the end of the year 1640. When we conſider the injuſtice of the hoſtilities which the Europeans have committed all over America, we are almoſt tempted to rejoice at their misfortunes, and at all the judgments that purſue thoſe inhuman oppreſſors. We are ready to renounce the ties that bind us to the inhabitants of our own hemiſphere, change our connections, and contract beyond the ſeas with the ſavage Indians an alliance, which unites all mankind, that of misfortune and compaſſion.

THE remembrance, however, of hardſhips endured in an invaded iſland, proved a powerful incitement to the cultivation of all articles of immediate neceſſity, which afterwards induced an attention to thoſe of luxury conſumed in the mother country. The few inhabitants who had eſcaped the calamities they had drawn upon themſelves, were ſoon joined by ſome diſcontented coloniſts from St. Chriſtopher's, ſome Europeans fond of novelty, ſome ſailors tired of navigation; and by ſome ſea captains, who prudently choſe to commit to the care of a grateful ſoil the treaſures they had ſaved from the dangers of the ſea. But ſtill the proſperity of Guadalupe was ſtopt or impeded by obſtacles ariſing from its ſituation.

The colony of Guadalupe makes no great progreſs.

THE facility with which the pirates from the neighbouring iſlands could carry off their cattle, their ſlaves, their very crops, frequently brought them into a very ruinous ſituation. Inteſtine broils, ariſing from jealouſies of authority, often diſturbed the quiet of the planters. The adventurers who went over to the windward iſlands, diſdaining a land that was fitter for agriculture

culture than for naval expeditions, were eaſily drawn to Martinico, by the convenient roads it abounds with. The protection of thoſe intrepid pirates, brought to that iſland all the traders who flattered themſelves that they might buy up the ſpoils of the enemy at a low price, and all the planters who thought they might ſafely give themſelves up to peaceful labours. This quick population could not fail of introducing the civil and military government of the Leeward iſlands into Martinico. From that time, the French miniſtry attended more ſeriouſly to this than to the other colonies, which were not ſo immediately under their direction; and hearing of nothing but this iſland, they turned all their encouragements that way.

It was owing to this preference, that in 1700, the whole population of Guadalupe was but 3,825 white people; 325 ſavages, free negroes, mulattos; and 6,725 ſlaves, many of whom were Caribs. Her cultures were reduced to 60 ſmall plantations of ſugar, 66 of indigo, a little cocoa, and a great deal of cotton. The cattle amounted to 1,620 horſes and mules, and 3,699 head of horned cattle. This was the fruit of ſixty years labour. But her future progreſs was as rapid as her firſt attempts had been ſlow.

At the end of the year 1755, the colony was peopled with 9,643 whites, and 41,140 ſlaves of all ages and of both ſexes. Her ſaleable commodities were the produce of 334 ſugar plantations; 15 plots of indigo; 46,840 ſtems of cocoa; 11,700 of tobacco; 2,257,725 of coffee; 12,748,447 of cotton. For her proviſion ſhe had 29 ſquares of rice or maize, and 1,219 of potatoes or yams; 2,028,520 banana trees; and 32,577,950 trenches of caſſava. Theſe details are the moſt eſſential parts of the hiſtory of America, ſo far as it concerns Europe. Cato the Cenſor would have recorded them; and

BOOK IV.

Charlemagne would have read them eagerly. Who ſhould be aſhamed to attend to them? Let us then purſue theſe uſeful diſquiſitions. The cattle of Guadalupe conſiſted of 4,946 horſes; 2,924 mules; 125 aſſes; 13,716 head of horned cattle; 11,162 ſheep or goats; and 2,444 hogs. Such was the ſtate of Guadalupe, when it was conquered by the Engliſh, in the month of April 1759.

FRANCE lamented this loſs; but the colony had reaſon to comfort themſelves for this diſgrace. During a ſiege of three months, they had ſeen their plantations deſtroyed, the buildings that ſerved to carry on their works burnt down, and ſome of their ſlaves carried off. Had the enemy been forced to retreat after all theſe devaſtations, the iſland was undone. Deprived of all aſſiſtance from the mother country, which was in no condition to ſend her any ſuccours, and expecting nothing from the Dutch, who on account of their neutrality came into her roads, becauſe ſhe had nothing to offer them in exchange, ſhe could never have ſubſiſted till the ſeaſon of the enſuing harveſt.

The Engliſh conquer Guadalupe, and raiſe the iſland to the greateſt degree of proſperity.

THE conquerors delivered them from theſe apprehenſions. The Engliſh, indeed, are no merchants in their colonies. The proprietors of lands, who moſtly reſide in Europe, ſend their repreſentatives whatever they want, and draw the whole produce of the eſtate by the return of their ſhip. An agent, ſettled in ſome ſea-port of Great Britain, is intruſted with the furniſhing the plantation, and receiving the produce. This was impracticable at Guadalupe; and the conquerors in this reſpect were obliged to adopt the cuſtom of the conquered. The Engliſh, informed of the advantage the French made of their trade with the colonies, haſtened in imitation of them, to ſend their ſhips to the conquered iſland, and ſo multiplied their expeditions, that they over-

overſtocked the market, and ſank the price of all European goods. The coloniſt bought them at a very low price, and in conſequence of this glut, obtained long delays for the payment.

To this credit which was neceſſary was ſoon added another ariſing from ſpeculation, which enabled the colony to fulfil its engagements. A great number of negroes were carried thither, to haſten the growth and enhance the value of the plantations. It has been ſaid in a hundred memorials, copied from each other, that the Engliſh had ſtocked Guadalupe with 30,000, during the four years and three months that they remained maſters of the iſland. The regiſters of the cuſtom houſes which may be depended on, as they could have no inducement to impoſe upon us, atteſt that the number was no more than 18,721. This was ſufficient to give the nation well-grounded hopes of reaping great advantages from their new conqueſt. But their ambition was fruſtrated, and the colony with its dependencies was reſtored to its former poſſeſſors in July 1763.

By the dependencies of Guadalupe, muſt be underſtood ſeveral ſmall iſlands, which being included in the diſtrict of her juriſdiction, fell with her into the hands of the Engliſh. Such is the Deſeada, which ſeems to have been detached from Guadalupe by the ſea, and is only ſeparated by a ſmall canal. It is a kind of rock, where nothing will grow but cotton. We are not certain at what time it was firſt inhabited, but this little ſettlement is certainly not of a long ſtanding.

The Saintes, three leagues diſtant from Guadalupe, are two very ſmall iſlands, which, with another yet ſmaller, make a triangle, and a tolerable harbour. Thirty Frenchmen were ſent thither in 1648, but were ſoon driven away by an exceſſive drought, which dried up

BOOK IV.

their only ſpring, before they had time to make any reſervoirs. A ſecond attempt was made in 1652, and laſting plantations begun, which now yield fifty thouſand weight of coffee and ninety thouſand of cotton.

THIS is but little, but it is more than the produce of St. Bartholomew, which was peopled with fifty Frenchmen in 1648. They were all murdered in 1656 by a troop of Caribs from St. Vincent and Dominica, and were replaced but a long while after. In 1753, the coloniſts were no more than 170 in number, and their whole fortune conſiſted in 54 ſlaves, and 64,000 cocoa trees. Since the laſt peace, the population of the white people has increaſed to 400, and that of the blacks to 500. The plantations have increaſed in the ſame proportions. The ſoil of this ſmall iſland is very hilly, and exceſſively barren; but it has the convenience of a good harbour. The wretchedneſs of the inhabitants is ſo well known, that the Engliſh privateers which frequently put in there during the late wars, have always paid punctually for what few refreſhments they could ſpare them, though the miſerable inhabitants were too weak to compel them. There is then ſome humanity left even in the breaſt of enemies and pirates; man is not naturally cruel; and only becomes ſo from fear or intereſt. The armed pirate, who plunders a veſſel richly laden, is not deſtitute of equity, nor even of compaſſion, for a ſet of poor defenceleſs iſlanders.

MARIGALANTE was wreſted from her nutural inhabitants, in 1648. The French, who had forcibly taken poſſeſſion of it, were long annoyed by the ſavages of the neighbouring iſlands, but at laſt are left peaceable poſſeſſors of a land they have cultivated, after they had unpeopled it. This iſland is not large, but fruitful; it cultivates twenty-one ſugar plantations, 7,000 cocoa trees,

trees, 562,700 ſtems of coffee, and 4,621,700 of cotton. If theſe frequent computations are tireſome to an indolent reader, who does not like to take account of his income, leſt he ſhould find he muſt ſet bounds to his expences, it is to be hoped they will be leſs ſo to political calculators, who find the exact meaſure of the ſtrength of a ſtate in the population and produce of lands, and are by theſe means the better enabled to compare the natural reſources of the ſeveral nations. It is but by an exact regiſter of this kind, that we can judge of the preſent ſtate of the maritime and trading powers that have ſettlements in America. In this caſe, accuracy conſtitutes the whole merit of the work, and the reader muſt excuſe inelegance in favour of real utility. The public is already ſufficiently amuſed and impoſed upon by eloquent and ingenious deſcriptions of diſtant countries; it is now time to inveſtigate truth, to compare the ſeveral hiſtories of theſe countries, and to find out what they now are, rather than what they formerly were. For the hiſtory of what is paſt is of little more conſequence to the preſent age, than the hiſtory of what is to come. Let us then again obſerve that no one ſhould think it ſtrange, that we ſo often repeat the numeration of people and cattle, of lands and their produce; in a word, that we ſhould ſo frequently enter into diſquiſitions which may appear dry, but are in fact the natural foundations of ſociety. Why then ſhould we be diſguſted at ſeeing theſe things in a work which ſhews us our riches? Let us, therefore, reſume the ſubject, and compute the wealth of Guadalupe.

By the ſurvey taken in 1767, this iſland, including the leſſer ſettlements above-mentioned, contains 11,863 white people of all ages, and of both ſexes; 752 free blacks and mulattos; 72,761 ſlaves; which makes in all a population of 85,376 ſouls.

BOOK IV.

THE cattle conſiſts of 5,060 horſes; 4,854 mules; 111 aſſes; 17,378 head of horned cattle; 14,895 ſheep or goats; and 2,669 hogs. The proviſion is 30,476,218 trenches of caſſava; 2,819,262 banana trees; 2,118 ſquares of land planted with yams and potatoes.

THE plantations contain 72 arnotto trees; 327 of caſſia; 13,292 of cocoa; 5,881,176 of coffee; 12,156,769 of cotton; 21,474 ſquares of land planted with ſugar canes. The woods occupy 22,097 ſquares of land. There are 20,247 in meadows; and 6,405 are uncultivated or forſaken. Only 1,582 plantations grow cotton, coffee, and proviſions of eatables. Sugar is made but in 401. Theſe ſugar-works employ 140 water-mills, 263 turned by oxen, and 11 windmills.

THE produce of Guadalupe, including what is poured in from the ſmall iſlands under her dominion, ought to be very conſiderable. But in 1768, it yielded to the mother country no more than 140,418 quintals of fine ſugars; 23,603 quintals of raw ſugars; 34,205 quintals of coffee; 11,955 quintals of cotton; 456 quintals of cocoa; 1,884 quintals of ginger; 2,529 quintals of logwood; 24 cheſts of ſweetmeats; 165 cheſts of liqueurs; 34 caſks of rum; and 1,202 undreſſed ſkins. All theſe commodities were ſold in the colony only for 7,103,838 livres, (310,792*l.* 18*s.* 3*d.*) and the merchandiſe they have received from France has coſt them but 4,523,884 livres. (197,919*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.*) It is eaſy to judge from hence how great a part of the produce has been fraudulently exported, ſince it is known that the crops of Guadalupe are more plentiful than thoſe of Martinico.

THE reaſons for this ſuperiority are obvious. Guadalupe employs a greater number of ſlaves upon the plantations than Martinico, which being at once a trading

ing and a planting iſland, engages many of her negroes in the towns and among the ſhipping. There are fewer children in Guadalupe, becauſe the freſh negroes brought to the new-erected works, are all adults, or at leaſt able to work, and the black women ſeldom breed till the ſecond year after their arrival in America. This may be owing to the change of climate and food affecting their conſtitutions, or, poſſibly, to a kind of reſerve which they are more ſuſceptible of than they are generally thought to be. Laſtly, a great many of thoſe blacks have been placed upon freſh lands; and ground newly cleared always yields more than that which is exhauſted by long tillage.

But if we may truſt to ſome obſervers, the colony muſt expect that her plantations will decreaſe. They maintain that part of the iſland properly called Guadalupe had long ſince attained the utmoſt pitch of increaſe, and the Grande Terre, almoſt all of which is newly cleared, affords three fifths of the produce of the whole ſettlement. It is impoſſible that this part of the iſland can keep up to that flouriſhing ſtate, to which a lucky chance has brought it. The land is naturally barren, already exhauſted by forced culture, and the more expoſed to the droughts, ſo common in this climate, as there is hardly a tree left. Beſides the cultivation of them is attended with difficulty and coſt, and the crops can only be kept up, by a daily increaſe of labour and expence, and by conſtantly returning into the ground, the net produce of each harveſt.

Yet many are of opinion that Guadalupe may augment her income by one fifth, and that the time of this increaſe is near at hand. The colony has no conſiderable debts. Having fewer wants than the richer iſlands, where affluence has long ſince created new deſires and a

new

BOOK IV.

new taſte, the inhabitants can ſpare the more for the improvement of their lands. Their ſituation, in the midſt of the Engliſh and Dutch ſettlements, gives them an opportunity of running a fourth part of their ſugars and cottons, at a higher price than they would ſell for to the French captains, to purchaſe ſlaves and other articles in exchange at a cheaper rate. From theſe concurring circumſtances, it is not unlikely that Guadalupe will ſoon riſe of herſelf to the greateſt proſperity, without the aſſiſtance, and in ſpite of the clogs, government has impoſed upon it.

Changes made in the adminiſtration of Guadalupe ſince it has been reſtored to the dominion of France.

THE flouriſhing ſtate to which Guadalupe had been raiſed by the Engliſh, when they reſtored it at the peace, excited a general ſurpriſe. It was beheld by the mother country, with that kind of conſideration and reſpect which opulence inſpires. Hitherto, this, as all the other windward iſlands, had been ſubordinate to Martinico. It was reſcued from this dependence, by appointing a governor and an intendant, to preſide over it. Theſe new adminiſtrators, deſirous of ſignalizing their arrival by ſome innovation, inſtead of letting the commodities of this iſland return into the old track, laid a plan for conveying them directly to Europe. This ſcheme was by no means diſagreeable to the inhabitants, who owed Martinico two millions, which they were in no haſte to pay; and it was contrived that the miniſtry at home ſhould adopt it. From that time, all intercourſe was ſtrictly prohibited between the two colonies, which became as great ſtrangers to each other, as if they had belonged to rival, or even to hoſtile powers.

THE immediate connections of Guadalupe with France, had been hitherto confined to ſix or ſeven ſhips every year. This number was increaſed, but not ſufficiently

ciently to eaſe the colony of the whole of her produce. This ſcheme was carried into execution with too much haſte. It ſhould have been done very gradually and with much caution; for, certainly, moſt innovations in politics require to be introduced and conducted with moderation. The harbours of Guadalupe are but bad, the coaſting trade difficult, and the goods frequently damaged in loading and unloading. Theſe and other reaſons had deterred the merchants of the mother-country from opening a direct trade with the colony, notwithſtanding the inconveniences and charges attending an indirect one. There was a degree of prejudice in this; but many precautions were neceſſary to induce them to get rid of it. It was neceſſary to entice European ſhips to come to the colony by ſome privileges, and indulgencies, which might balance the diſadvantages that kept them away. With this kind of management the intended revolution would have been brought about gradually and inſenſibly. In ſhort, the French ſhips ſhould have been encouraged, in order to keep off thoſe of Martinico, not thoſe of Martinico driven away, to bring in the French ſhips, which might poſſibly never arrive.

SUCH was the commercial intereſt, ſingly conſidered; but, perhaps, it might come in competition with political intereſts of much greater importance. This is what we ſhall now examine.

FRANCE has been hitherto unable effectually to protect her own colonies, or to annoy thoſe of her moſt formidable rival. This double advantage can only be procured by a navy equal to that of a power, which openly declares itſelf our natural enemy. Till that period arrives, which, from our preſent ſituation, ſeems to be more and more remote, it concerns us, at leaſt, to put our colonies in a condition to provide for themſelves in caſe

BOOK IV.

caſe of a war. This they were able to do, when Martinico was the center of all the windward ſettlements. From this iſland, full of traders and ſeamen, and the moſt happily ſituated of all the French iſlands, with regard to the winds that blow in theſe latitudes, were ſent out conſtant ſupplies of men, arms and proviſions, which reached the other colonies in twenty-four hours, with a moral certainty of not being intercepted, notwithſtanding the multiplicity and ſtrength of the ſquadrons deſtined to cut off this communication.

NOR was this all. Swarms of privateers, ſent out from Martinico, made it impoſſible for the Britiſh trade to proceed without a convoy; and as the convoys could not be had in a conſtant ſucceſſion, ſo as to bring a regular ſupply to a climate where proviſions will not keep long, the Engliſh iſlands were often reduced to great ſcarcity. The provinces of North-America endeavoured, it is true, to make up this deficiency; but the cargoes ſold ſo cheap, that they could not afford a convoy; ſo that the French privateers were ſure to carry off two fifths of their trade with the ſouthern colonies. And, indeed, all the vigilance and ſkill of the Engliſh could not prevent the Martinico privateers, during the laſt war, from taking fourteen hundred veſſels.

ALL the advantages of Martinico, in which Guadalupe had its ſhare, and which greatly contributed to the victualling of both iſlands, and to diſtreſs the enemy's ſettlements, will be all loſt by the ſeparation made between the colonies by the mother country. We ſhall no longer ſee there any merchants, nor ſeamen, nor ſtationed ſhips; and if a war ſhould break out, there will be no fitting out the ſmalleſt armament in thoſe parts. It is the buſineſs of the court of Verſailles to judge whether

whether the direct navigation from the ports of France to Guadalupe can make amends for ſo great a ſacrifice.

Meaſures taken by France for the defence of Guadalupe.

But can France be aſſured of enjoying a long and quiet poſſeſſion of this iſland? If the enemy that might attack the colony, choſe only the Grande Terre, and carried off the ſlaves and cattle from thence, it would be impoſſible to hinder them, or even to make them ſuffer for it, unleſs an army was oppoſed to them. Fort Lewis, which defends this part of the ſettlement is but a wretched ſtar fort, incapable of much reſiſtance. All that could poſſibly be expected, would be to prevent the devaſtation from extending any further. The nature of the country preſents ſeveral more or leſs fortunate poſitions, in which the progreſs of an aſſailer may be ſtopped with ſecurity, whatever his courage or his forces may be. He would, therefore, be forced to reimbark and proceed to the attack of what is properly called Guadalupe.

The landing of the enemy could be effected no where but at the bay of the Three Rivers, and at that of the Bailiff; or rather theſe two places would be moſt favourable to the ſucceſs of his enterprize; becauſe they would bring them nearer than any other to Fort St. Charles of the Baſſe-terre, where they would have leſs difficulties to encounter.

Let the enemy chuſe which ever of theſe landings they pleaſe, they will find nothing more than a ſpot covered with trees, interſected with rivers, hollow ways, narrow paſſes, and ſteep aſcents, which they muſt march over expoſed to the French fire. When, by the ſuperiority of their forces, they have ſurmounted theſe difficulties, they will be ſtopped by the eminence of the great camp. This is a platform ſurrounded by nature, with the river Galleon, and with dreadful ravines, to which art has added parapets, barbettes, flanks and embraſures,

BOOK IV.

braſures, to direct the artillery in the beſt manner. This intrenchment, tho' formidable, muſt be forced. It is not to be imagined that an intelligent general would ever leave ſuch a poſt as this behind him: his convoys would be too much expoſed, and he could not get up what would be neceſſary for carrying on the ſiege of fort St. Charles, without much difficulty.

If thoſe who were firſt employed in fortifying Guadalupe, had underſtood the art of war, or even been only engineers, they would not have failed chuſing the poſition between the river Cenſe and the river Galleon, for erecting their fortifications. The place then would have had towards the ſea-ſide a front, which would have incloſed a harbour capable of containing forty ſail of ſhips, which would have annoyed the enemy's fleet, without being themſelves in the leaſt expoſed. The fronts towards the rivers Galleon and Cenſe, would have been inacceſſible, being placed upon the ſummit of two very ſteep aſcents. The fourth front would have been the only place open to an attack, and it would have been an eaſy matter to ſtrengthen that as much as might have been thought proper.

By chuſing the preſent poſition of fort St. Charles, the works, which were conſtructed right, ought at leaſt to have flanked each other, from the ſea and from the heights. But the principles of fortification were ſo much neglected, that the fire was pointed entirely in a wrong direction, that the internal works were in all parts open to the view, and that the revêtements might be battered from the bottom.

Such was the condition of fort St. Charles, when in 1764 they began to think of putting it in a ſtate of defence. Perhaps, it might have been beſt to deſtroy it totally, and to place the fortifications on the poſition juſt pointed out. They contented themſelves, however,

ever, with covering the bad fort conſtructed by unſkilful perſons, with out-works; adding two baſtions towards the ſea-ſide; a good covered way, which goes all round with the glacis, partly cut and partly in a gentle ſlope; two large places of arms with re-entering angles, having each a good redoubt, and behind theſe good tenailles, with caponieres and poſterns of communication with the body of the place; two redoubts, one on the prolongation of the capital of one of the two places of arms, and the other at the extremity of an excellent intrenchment made along the river Galleon, the platform of which is defended by the cannon from another intrenchment, made on the top of the bank of the other ſide of the ſame river; large and deep ditches, a reſervoir for water, and a powder magazine, bomb proof; in a word, a ſufficient quantity of works underground to lodge a third part of the garriſon. All theſe out-works well contrived being added to the fort, will enable an active and experienced commander to hold out a ſiege of two months, and perhaps more. But whatever may be the reſiſtance that Guadalupe can oppoſe to the attacks of the enemy; it is time to paſs on to St. Domingo.

Settlement of the French at St. Domingo.

THIS iſland is ſixty leagues in length; its main breadth is about thirty; and its circumference three hundred and fifty, or ſix hundred in coaſting round the ſeveral bays. It is parted lengthways, from eaſt to weſt, by a ridge of mountains, covered with woods, which riſing gradually exhibit the fineſt proſpect imaginable. Several of theſe mountains were formerly full of mines, and, perhaps, are ſo ſtill; others are fit for culture. Almoſt all of them form delicious and temperate vallies; but in the plains, where the ſoil is very fertile, the air is ſo ſcorching hot as to be almoſt intolerable, eſpecially in thoſe places

BOOK IV.

places by the ſea ſide where the coaſt runs narrow, between the water and the back of the mountains, and is expoſed to a double reflection of the ſun, both from the rocks and the waves.

SPAIN was the ſole proprietor of this large poſſeſſion, when ſome Engliſh and French, who had been driven out of St. Chriſtopher's took refuge there in 1630. Though the ſouthern coaſt, where they firſt ſettled, was in a manner forſaken, they conſidered that being liable to be attacked by a common enemy, it was but prudent to ſecure a retreat. For this purpoſe they pitched upon Tortuga, a ſmall iſland within two leagues of the great one; and twenty-five Spaniards who were left to guard it, retired on the firſt ſummons.

THE adventurers of both nations, now abſolute maſters of an iſland eight leagues long and two broad, found a pure air, but no river and few ſprings. The mountains were covered with choice woods, and the fertile plains only wanted the hand of the cultivator. The northern coaſt appeared to be inacceſſible, but the ſouthern had an excellent harbour commanded by a rock, which required only a battery of cannon to defend the entrance of the iſland.

THIS happy ſituation ſoon brought to Tortuga a multitude of thoſe people who are in ſearch either of fortune or liberty. The moſt moderate applied themſelves to the culture of tobacco, which grew into repute, whilſt the more active went to hunt the buffaloes at St. Domingo, and ſold their hides to the Dutch. The moſt intrepid went out to cruize, and performed ſuch daring feats as will be long remembered.

THIS ſettlement alarmed the court of Madrid. Judging by the loſſes they had already ſuſtained, of the misfortunes they had ſtill to expect, they gave orders for the

the deſtruction of the new colony. The general of the galleons choſe, for executing his commiſſion, the time when the brave inhabitants of Tortuga were out at ſea or a hunting, and with that barbarity which was then ſo familiar to his nation, carried off or put to the ſword all thoſe who were left at home. He then withdrew, without leaving any garriſon, fully perſuaded that ſuch a precaution was needleſs, after the vengeance he had taken. But he ſoon found that cruelty is not the way to ſecure dominion.

THE adventurers, informed of what had been doing at Tortuga, and hearing at the ſame time that a body of five hundred men, deſtined to harraſs them, was getting ready at St. Domingo, judged that the only way to eſcape the impending ruin, was to put an end to that anarchy in which they lived. They therefore gave up perſonal independence to ſocial ſafety, and made choice of one Willes to be at their head; an Engliſhman who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf on many occaſions by his prudence and valour. Under the guidance of this chief, at the latter end of 1638, they retook an iſland which they had poſſeſſed for eight years, and fortified it that they might not loſe it again.

THE French ſoon felt the effects of national partiality. Willes having ſent for as many of his countrymen as would enable him to give laws, treated the reſt as ſubjects. Such is the natural progreſs of dominion; in this manner moſt monarchies have been formed. Companions in exile, war, or piracy, have choſen a leader, who ſoon uſurps the authority of a maſter. At firſt he ſhares the power or the ſpoils with the ſtrongeſt, till the multitude, cruſhed by the few, embolden the chief to aſſume the whole power to himſelf, and then monarchy degenerates into deſpotiſm. But ſuch a ſeries of revolutions can only take place

BOOK IV.

in many years in great ſtates. An iſland of ſixteen leagues ſquare is of too much conſequence to be peopled with ſlaves. The commander De Poincy, governor-general of the windward iſlands, being informed of the tyranny of Willes, immediately ſent forty Frenchmen from St. Chriſtopher's, who collected fifty more on the coaſt of St. Domingo. They landed at Tortuga, and having joined their countrymen on the iſland, they altogether ſummoned the Engliſh to withdraw. The Engliſh, diſconcerted at ſuch an unexpected and vigorous act, and not doubting but ſo much haughtineſs was ſupported by a much greater force than it really was, evacuated the iſland, never more to return.

THE Spaniards were not ſo tractable. They ſuffered ſo much from the depredations of the pirates which were daily ſent out from Tortuga, that they thought their peace, their honour, and their intereſt, were alike concerned in getting that iſland once more in their own power. Three times they recovered it, and were three times driven out again. At laſt it remained in the hands of the French, in 1659, and they kept it till they were ſo firmly eſtabliſhed at St. Domingo, as to diſregard ſo ſmall a ſettlement.

THEIR progreſs, however, was but ſlow, and they firſt drew the attention of the mother country in 1665. Huntſmen, indeed, and pirates were continualy ſeen hovering about from one iſland to another, but the number of planters, who are properly the only coloniſts, did not exceed four hundred. The government was ſenſible how neceſſary it was to multiply them; and the care of this difficult work was committed to a gentleman of Anjou, named Bertrand Dogeron.

Meaſures taken by the French to render this colony advantageous.

THIS man, whom nature had formed to be great in himſelf, independent of the ſmiles or frowns of fortune, had ſerved fifteen years in the marines, when he went over

over to America in 1756. With the beſt contrived plans, he failed in his firſt attempts; but the fortitude he ſhewed in his misfortunes, made his virtues the more conſpicuous, and the expedients he found out to extricate himſelf, heightened the opinion already entertained of his genius. The eſteem and attachment he had inſpired the French with at St. Domingo and Tortuga, induced the government to intruſt him with the care of directing or rather of ſettling the colony.

The execution of this project was full of difficulties. It was neceſſary to ſubdue a lawleſs crew, who till then had lived in a ſtate of the moſt abſolute independence; to reconcile to labour a troop of plunderers, who delighted in nothing but rapine and idleneſs; to prevail upon men accuſtomed to trade freely with all nations, to ſubmit to the privileges of an excluſive company formed in 1664 for all the French ſettlements. When this was effected, it then became neceſſary to allure new inhabitants into a country which had been traduced as a bad climate, and which was not yet known to be ſo fertile as it really was.

Dogeron, contrary to the general opinion, was in hopes he ſhould ſucceed. A long intercourſe with men he was to govern, had taught him how they were to be dealt with, and his ſagacity could ſuggeſt, or his honeſt ſoul adopt no method of alluring them, but what was noble and juſt. The free-booters were determined to go in ſearch of more advantageous latitudes; he detained them, by relinquiſhing to them that ſhare of the booty which his poſt entitled him to, and by obtaining for them from Portugal, commiſſions for attacking the Spaniards, even after they had made peace with France. This was the only way to make theſe men friends to their country, who otherwiſe would have turned enemies, rather than have renounced the hopes of plun-

BOOK IV.

der. The buccaneers, or huntſmen, who only wiſhed to raiſe a ſufficiency to erect habitations, found him ready to advance them money without intereſt, or to procure them ſome by his credit. As for the planters, whom he preferred to all the other coloniſts, he gave them every poſſible encouragement within the reach of his induſtrious activity.

THESE happy alterations required only to be made permanent. The governor wiſely conſidered, that women could alone cement the happineſs of the men and the welfare of the colony, by promoting population. There was not one female on the new ſettlement. He therefore ſent for ſome. Fifty came over from France, and were ſoon diſpoſed of to the beſt bidders. Soon after, a like number arrived, and were obtained on ſtill higher terms. This was the only way to gratify the moſt impetuous of all paſſions, without quarrels or bloodſhed. All the inhabitants expected to ſee help mates come from their own country, to ſoften and to ſhare their fate. But they were diſappointed. No more were ſent over, except women of no character, who uſed to engage themſelves for three years in the ſervice of the men. This method of loading the colony with the refuſe of the mother-country, introduded ſuch a profligacy of manners, that it became neceſſary to put a ſtop to ſo dangerous an expedient, but without ſubſtituting a better. By this neglect, St. Domingo loſt a great many honeſt men, who could not live happy there, and was deprived of an increaſe of population, which might have proceeded from the coloniſt, who ſtill preſerved their attachment to the iſland. The colony has long felt, and, perhaps, feels to this day, the effects of ſo capital a fault.

NOTWITHSTANDING this error, Dogeron found means to increaſe the number of planters to fifteen hundred in four years time, when there were only four hundred

hundred at his firſt coming. His ſucceſſes were daily increaſing, when they were ſtopped at once in 1670, by an inſurrection, which put the whole colony in a ferment. He did not experience the leaſt cenſure for an unfortunate accident, in which he certainly had not the leaſt ſhare.

When this upright man was appointed by the court of France to the government of Tortuga and St. Domingo, he could only prevail upon the inhabitants to acknowledge his authority, by giving them hopes that the ports under his juriſdiction ſhould be open to foreigners. Yet ſuch was the aſcendent he gained over their minds, that by degrees he eſtabliſhed in the colony the excluſive privilege of the company, which in time engroſſed the whole trade. But this company became ſo elated with proſperity, as to be guilty of the injuſtice of ſelling their goods for two thirds more than had till then been paid to the Dutch. So deſtructive a monopoly revolted the inhabitants. They took up arms, and it was but a year after, that they laid them down, upon condition that all French ſhips ſhould be free to trade with them, paying five *per cent.* to the company at coming in and going out. Dogeron, who brought about this accommodation, availed himſelf of that circumſtance to procure two ſhips, ſeemingly deſtined to convey his crops into Europe, but which in fact were more the property of his coloniſts than his own. Every one ſhipped his own commodities on board, allowing a moderate freight. On the return of the veſſel, the generous governor cauſed the cargo to be expoſed to public view and every one helped himſelf to what he wanted, not only at prime coſt, but upon truſt, without intereſt, and even without notes of hand. Dogeron had imagined he ſhould inſpire them with ſentiments of probity and greatneſs of ſoul, by taking no other ſecurity than their

BOOK IV.

own bare word. He was cut off by death in the midſt of theſe parental offices, 1673, leaving no other inheritance than an example of patriotiſm, and of every humane and ſocial virtue.

His nephew Pouancey ſucceeded rather to the duties than to the honours of his place. With the ſame qualifications as Dogeron, he was not ſo great a man, becauſe he followed his ſteps more from imitation than from natural diſpoſition. Yet the undiſcerning multitude placed an equal confidence in both, and both had the honour and happineſs to eſtabliſh the colony upon a firm footing, without laws and without ſoldiers. Their natural good ſenſe, and their known integrity, determined all differences to the ſatisfaction of both parties; and public order was maintained by that authority which is naturally attendent upon perſonal merit.

So wiſe a conſtitution could not be laſting, it required too much virtue to make it ſo. In 1684 there was ſo viſible an alteration, that in order to eſtabliſh a due ſubordination at St. Domingo, two adminiſtrators were called in from Martinico, where good policy was already in a great meaſure ſettled. Theſe legiſlators appointed courts of judicature in the ſeveral diſtricts, accountable to a ſuperior council at Little Goyave. In proceſs of time this juriſdiction growing too extenſive, a like tribunal was erected in 1702 at Cape St. Francis for the northern diſtricts.

All theſe innovations could hardly be introduced without ſome oppoſition. It was to be feared that the hunters and pirates, who compoſed the bulk of the people, averſe from the reſtraints that were going to be laid upon them, would go over to the Spaniards and to Jamaica, allured by the proſpect of great advantages. The planters themſelves were under ſome temptation of this kind, as their trade was clogged with ſo many reſtrictions,

reſtrictions, that they were forced to ſell their commodities at a very low price. The former were won by perſuaſions, the latter by a proſpect of a change in their ſituation, which was truly deſperate.

SKINS had been the firſt article of exportation from St. Domingo, as being the only things the buccaneers brought home. Tobacco was afterwards added by the culture of lands, and it was ſold to great advantage to all nations. This trade was ſoon confined by an excluſive company, which indeed was in a ſhort time aboliſhed, but with no advantage for the ſale of tobacco, ſince that was framed out. The inhabitants, hoping to meet with ſome favour from government, as a reward for their ſubmiſſion, offered to give the king a fourth part of all the tobacco they ſhould ſend into the kingdom, free of all the charge even of freight, upon condition they ſhould have the free diſpoſal of the other three-fourths. They made it appear, that this method would bring in a clearer profit to the revenue than the forty ſols (1*s.* 9*d.*) *per cent.* which were paid by the farmer. Private intereſts oppoſed ſo reaſonable a propoſal. This unkind treatment exaſperated the coloniſts, and luckily for them, they applied themſelves wholly to the culture of indigo and cocoa. Cotton was a very promiſing article, becauſe it had greatly enriched the Spaniards in former times; but they ſoon give it up, for what reaſon is not known, and in a few years not a ſingle ſhrub of cotton was to be ſeen.

TILL then the labours had all been performed by hirelings, and by the pooreſt of the inhabitants. Some ſucceſsful expeditions againſt the Spaniards, procured them a few negroes. The number was increaſed by two or three French ſhips, and much more by prizes taken from the Engliſh during the war of 1688, by an invaſion

BOOK IV.

of Jamaica, from whence our people brought away three thouſand blacks in 1694. Without ſlaves, the culture of ſugar could not be undertaken; but they alone were not ſufficient. Money was wanting to erect buildings, and to purchaſe utenſils. The profit ſome inhabitants made with the free-booters, who were always ſucceſsful in their expeditions, enabled them to employ the ſlaves. They therefore undertook the planting of thoſe canes, which convey the gold of Mexico to nations whoſe only mines are fruitful lands.

But the colony, which though it had loſt ſome of its Europeans, had ſtill made a progreſs to the north and weſt, amidſt the devaſtations that preceded the peace of Ryſwick, was yet in no forwardneſs to the ſouth. This part, which includes fifty leagues of ſea-coaſt, had not a hundred inhabitants, all living in huts, and all extremely wretched. The government could fix upon no better expedient to make ſome advantage of ſo extenſive and ſo fine a country, than to grant, in 1698, for the ſpace of thirty years, the property of it to a company, which took the name of *St. Louis*. This company, in imitation of Jamaica and Curaçao, was to open a contraband trade with the Spaniſh continent, and to clear the vaſt track of land included in the grant. This laſt object, as it was the moſt important, was ſoon the only one that was attended to.

To advance the improvement of agriculture, the company freely granted lands to all who applied for them. Each perſon, according to his wants and abilities, obtained ſlaves they were to pay for in three years, the men at the rate of ſix hundred livres, (26*l.* 5*s.*) and the women at the rate of four hundred and fifty livres. (19*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.*) The ſame credit was given for goods, though they were to be delivered at the market price. The company engaged to buy up all the produce of the

the lands at the ſame rate as thoſe commodities were ſold for in the other parts of the iſland. The ſociety, which made ſo many conceſſions, had no other amends for them but the excluſive right of buying and ſelling through the whole territory aſſigned to them. Even this dependence, oppreſſive to the coloniſt, was ſtill ſoftened by allowing him to take where he pleaſed, whatever he was left in want of, and to pay out of his proviſions whatever he might have occaſion to buy.

THE monopolizer, as a torrent that is loſt in the abyſs itſelf has made, works his own ruin by his rapaciouſneſs, by draining the country where he exerciſes his tyranny. This miſmanagement of the oppreſſor, the dejection of the oppreſſed, both concur to damp induſtry and trade in ſtates ſubjected to excluſive privileges. The company of St. Louis affords an inſtance among many, of the ill effects of ſuch private combinations. It was ruined by the knavery and extravagance of its agents, nor was the territory committed to its care, the better for all theſe loſſes. The plantations and people that were found there, when the company gave up her rights to the government in 1720, were chiefly owing to the interlopers.

Misfortunes that happen to the colony.

IT was during the long and bloody war begun on account of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, that this attempt had been made towards the improvement of the colony. It might have been expected to have made a ſpeedy progreſs, when tranquillity was reſtored to both nations by the peace of Utrecht. Theſe fair proſpects were blaſted by one of thoſe calamities which it is not in the power of man to foreſee. All the cocoa-trees upon the colony died in 1715. Dogeron had planted the firſt in 1665. In proceſs of time they had increaſed, eſpecially in the narrow vallies to the weſtward. There were

no

BOOK IV.

no leſs than twenty thouſand upon ſome plantations; ſo that though cocoa ſold but five ſols (Two-pence h.) a pound, it was become a plentiful ſource of wealth.

CULTIVATIONS of greater importance amply compenſated this loſs, when the colony was threatened with a total ſubverſion. A conſiderable number of inhabitants, who had devoted twenty or thirty years labour, in a burning climate, to lay up a ſufficiency to ſpend a comfortable old age in their native country, were gone over to France, with a ſufficient fortune to enable them to pay off their debts and purchaſe eſtates. Their commodities were paid them in bank notes, which turned out to be of no uſe to them. This heavy ſtroke obliged them to return poor into an iſland from whence they had departed rich, and reduced them in their old age, to ſolicit places, as ſtewards to the very people who had formerly been their ſervants. The ſight of of ſo many unfortunate perſons, inſpired a general deteſtation, both of Law's ſcheme, and of the India company, which was conſidered as accountable for this ill-concerted project of finance. This averſion raiſed by mere compaſſion, was ſoon ſtrengthened by very conſiderable perſonal intereſts.

IN 1722 agents came from the India company, which had obtained an excluſive grant of the negro trade, on condition that they ſhould furniſh two thouſand negroes yearly. This was evidently a double misfortune for the colony, who could not expect to get above one-fifth of the ſlaves they wanted, and foreſaw that thoſe would be ſold at an extravagant price. Their diſcontent broke out into acts of the greateſt violence. Some commiſſaries, who by their inſolent behaviour, had greatly heightened the dread naturally conceived of all monopoly, were forced to repaſs the ſeas. The buildings where they tranſacted their buſineſs were burnt to the ground.

The

The ſhips that came to them from Africa, were either denied admittance into the harbour, or not ſuffered to diſpoſe of their cargoes. The chief governor, who endeavoured to oppoſe theſe diſturbances, ſaw his authority deſpiſed, and his orders diſobeyed as they were not enforced by any compulſive power. He was even put under arreſt. All parts of the iſland rang with the cries of ſedition, and the claſhing of arms. It is hard to ſay how far theſe exceſſes would have been carried, had not government been ſo prudent as to yield. This extreme confuſion laſted two years. At length, the inconveniences reſulting from anarchy, diſpoſed the minds of all parties to peace, and tranquillity was reſtored without having recourſe to deſperate means.

FROM that period, no colony ever made ſuch a good uſe of time as that of St. Domingo. They advanced with the utmoſt rapidity to a proſperous ſtate. The two unfortunate wars which annoyed her ſeas, have only ſerved to compreſs her ſtrength, which has increaſed the more ſince the ceſſation of hoſtilities. A wound is ſoon healed when the conſtitution is ſound. Diſeaſes themſelves are a kind of remedies, which by the expulſion of the vitiated humours, add new vigour to a robuſt habit of body. They reſtore the equilibrium of the whole frame, and impart to it a more regular and uniform motion. So war ſeems to ſtrengthen and ſupport national ſpirit in many ſtates of Europe, which might be enervated and corrupted by the proſperity of commerce, and the enjoyments of luxury. The immenſe loſſes which almoſt equally attend victory and defeat, awaken induſtry and quicken labour. Nations will recover their former ſplendor, provided their rulers will let them follow their own bent, and not pretend to direct their ſteps. This principle is peculiarly applicable to France, where nothing is requiſite for its proſperity

BOOK IV.

proſperity but to give a free courſe to the activity of the inhabitants. Wherever nature leaves them at full liberty, they ſucceed in giving her powers their full ſcope. St. Domingo affords a ſtriking inſtance of what may be expected from a good ſoil and an advantageous ſituation, in the hands of Frenchmen.

Preſent ſtate of this colony.

THIS colony has 180 leagues of ſea coaſt, lying to the north, the weſt, and the ſouth. The ſouthern part extends from cape Tiburon, to the point of Beata Cape, which takes in about fifty leagues of coaſt, more or leſs confined by the mountains. The Spaniards had built two large towns in that part, at the time of their proſperity, but forſook them in their decline. The vacant towns were not immediately occupied by the French, who might not think themſelves in ſafety ſo near the town of St. Domingo, where was centered the chief force of the nation upon whoſe ruins they were riſing. Their corſairs, who commonly aſſembled at the little iſland called Vache iſland, to cruize upon the Caſtilians, and divide their ſpoils, emboldened them to begin a ſettlement on the neighbouring coaſt in 1673. It was ſoon deſtroyed, and was not reſumed till a good while after. The company appointed to ſettle and extend this colony might be of ſome ſervice to it, but the progreſs it made was chiefly owing to the Engliſh of Jamaica, and the Dutch of Curaçao, who having reſolved to carry almoſt all their ſlaves to this place, bought up the produce of a land which they themſelves contributed to improve. Our merchants at home have at length opened their eyes, and ſince the year 1740, they frequent that part which is the moſt diſtant of the colony, though the ſailing out of this road is ſometimes very tedious and difficult, on account of the winds.

THE

THE ſettlement that lies to windward of the reſt is called Jaquemel. Though of a pretty long ſtanding, it contains but forty-two houſes. The ſoil of this and the neighbouring ſettlements is ſo hemmed in by the mountains, that no great opulence is to be expected from it; but in another light, it merits the attention of government. It lies very conveniently for the reception of any troops or warlike ſtores, which the mother-country might chooſe to convey to the colony, in time of war, and which would run great riſques in taking the north ſide, that being the natural and conſtant ſtation of the enemy's ſquadrons. Jaquemel may alſo be of great ſervice in another light. The little Dutch iſland of Curaçao affords in times of hoſtilities an inexhauſtable ſtore of proviſions. Their privateers being ſtrong and bold enough to beat the little corſairs of Jamaica, the only Engliſh veſſels that have hitherto obſtructed their operations, have poured an immenſe ſtock of proviſions into the port of Jaquemel, during the late troubles. They will continue this ſupply as long as we pleaſe, provided we will but ſecure their landing by proper batteries, or by the protection of a frigate or two. This place will ſupply the weſtern ſide of St. Domingo, by a road of eight leagues only, which leads to Leogane and Port-au-Prince, and the ſouthern ſide by ſmall boats that can eaſily range the coaſt.

WHILST Jaquemel is the ſtore houſe, St. Lewis is the defence of the iſland. This town, built in the beginning of the century, lies at the bottom of a bay, which makes a tolerable harbour. It contains but forty houſes, and ſeemed to be doomed to laſting wretchedneſs, having naturally no water to drink. Some Jews, who live without the gates of St. Lewis, at length undertook to form an aqueduct, which they engaged to conſtruct at their own expence. This place is the ſeat of government,

BOOK IV.

ment, and receives the few men of war which appear in theſe latitudes. This is the only advantage it has, and it is by this it is able to protect the trade and wealth of the Cayes, which lies ten leagues lower.

THIS town ſeems to have been, as it were, thrown at random in the bottom of a ſhallow bay, which grows more and more ſo, and has but three channels. The anchorage is ſo confined and ſo dangerous during the equinox, that ſhips which happen to be there at thoſe ſeaſons, are frequently loſt. The great quantity of mud brought thither by a torrent, called the ſouth river, has increaſed to ſuch a degree, that in thirty years time there will be no getting in. The canal formed by the vicinity of Vache iſland is of no uſe but to obſtruct navigation. The creeks in this place are the reſort of the corſairs of Jamaica. As they cruize there without fails, and can obſerve without being ſeen, they always have the advantage of the wind over ſuch veſſels as are hindred by the violence and conſtant courſe of the winds from paſſing above the iſland. If any men of war ſhould be forced to put into this bad harbour, the impoſſibility of ſurmounting this obſtacle and that of the currents, in order to get to windward of the iſland, would oblige them to follow the track of merchant ſhips. Doubling, therefore, the point of Labracou, one after another, on account of the ſhoals, theſe ſhips would get between the land and the enemy's fire, with the diſadvantage of the wind, and would infallibly be deſtroyed by an inferior ſquadron.

THE town of Cayes is worthy of the harbour. It contains 280 houſes, all ſunk into ſwampy ground, and moſt of them ſurrounded with ſtagnant water. The air of this ſpot is foul and unwholeſome, and on this account, as well as the badneſs of the harbour, it has often been wiſhed that the trade with the mother-country could

could be tranferred to St. Lewis. But the efforts that have been made to bring this about have hitherto been unſucceſsful, and will for ever be ſo for very evident reaſons. BOOK IV.

THE town of Cayes is ſurrounded with a plain nearly ſix leagues long, and four and a half broad. The ground which is very even, extremely fruitful and in every part fit for the culture of ſugar, is well watered in many places, and may be ſo every where. Nothing is left to make it rival the plain of the cape, but an equal number of ſlaves. Theſe are daily increaſing, and will ſoon multiply to ſuch a number as to make the moſt of this fertile ſpot. So many advantages are an inducement to perſons who croſs the ſeas merely in hopes of making a ſpeedy fortune, to go directly to Cayes.

TO pretend to thwart this partiality would be to retard the progreſs of a good ſettlement, to no manner of purpoſe. Even the caprices of induſtry ſhould be indulged by government. The leaſt uneaſineſs in the trader creates diſtruſt. Political and military reaſonings will never prevail againſt thoſe of intereſt. The colonies are influenced by no other rule. Wherever there is moſt money, there they direct their ſteps, and there they fix. Trade is a plant that only thrives in a ſoil of its own chuſing. It ſtarts at every kind of reſtraint. Forbidding the trade of Cayes, would be juſt as abſurd a piece of tyranny, as ordering the dealers at a fair to quit their ſtalls.

ALL that the French miniſtry could reaſonably propoſe, would be to fortify, and in ſome meaſure to cleanſe this place. Both might be effected, by digging a ditch all round the town, and the rubbiſh would ſerve to fill up the marſhes within. The ground being raiſed higher by this contrivance, would of courſe grow

BOOK IV.

grow drier; the water, which would be brought down from the river into this deep ditch, would, with the help of ſome fortifications, ſecure the towns from the attacks of the corſairs, and would even afford a temporary defence, and allow time to capitulate with a ſquadron.

We may and ought to go further ſtill. Why not allow a factitious harbour to an important mart, which will ſoon be ſtopped? The merchant ſhips that go and ſeek ſhelter in what is called the Flemiſh Bay, leſs than two leagues to windward of Cayes, ſeem to point out this as the very harbour that is wanted for this town. It would contain a good number of men of war, ſafe from all winds, would afford them ſeveral careening places, would admit of their doubling Vache iſland to windward, and enable them to carry on with the town along-ſide the coaſt an intercourſe, which being protected by batteries properly diſpoſed, would keep all the corſairs in awe. The only inconvenience is, that the ſhip-worm is more apt to get at the veſſel there than in other parts, on account of the nature of the bottom, and the calmneſs of the ſea.

There is a ſafer anchorage at the town of Coteaux, but it is only fit for ſmall veſſels. The foreign trade which is allowed there in time of war, and can hardly be prevented in time of peace, has rendered this port of conſequence, which is but a defenceleſs one. Next to Cayes, this is the principal town upon the coaſt, where moſt buſineſs is tranſacted. Its territory and the adjacent country abounds chiefly in indigo, but very little of this conveyed to France.

The ſouthern part terminates at cape Tiburon. The little ſettlement made there, inſtead of a harbour has nothing but a road, where the ſea is conſtantly rough; but its fortifications are a protection to ſuch merchant ſhips

ſhips as are able to double the cape. It affords a retreat to neutral ſhips, which being purſued by pirates, have not been able to reach Jaquemel; and likewiſe to our men of war, in danger from the violence of the winds in theſe latitudes, or from the ſuperior ſtrength of a hoſtile ſquadron.

THOUGH this coaſt is the leaſt of the three belonging to the French colony of St. Domingo, and that on the laſt day of December 1766, it contained but 33,663 ſlaves; yet it is ſo conſiderable, that the mother country may expect in time as great a produce from thence as from the richeſt of her windward iſlands. It is at preſent greatly expoſed from its vicinity to Jamaica; but in time it may be in a condition to threaten that bulwark of the Engliſh, when once the lands are improved, the country well peopled, the ſea-ports fortified and defended, and when once it has acquired that degree of ſolidity to which a good adminiſtration ought to bring it.

IN paſſing from the ſouth to the weſt, the next ſettlement is at cape Donna Maria. It is ſo weak as yet, that in twenty leagues of ſea-coaſt, there are not above fifty Europeans able to bear arms. And, indeed, a declaration of war is to them a ſignal of retreat, although they ventured to remain in their habitations during the late hoſtilities. But every inhabitant took care to manage a ſubterraneous retreat for himſelf and his ſlaves, whenever any privateer appeared. Notwithſtanding this precaution, ſeveral of their works have been ſurpriſed and carried off.

THE next diſtrict, known by the name of la Grande Anſe, or l'Anſe de Jeremie, is not ſo liable to theſe accidents. This town, ſituated on a riſing ground where the air is pure, has ſome good houſes, and is very promiſing. The great plenty of cotton and cocoa has induced

BOOK IV.

duced ſome merchants to trade there, and it is to this place that privateers, which cruize upon the coaſt of Jamaica, bring in their prizes. Culture and population have made ſome progreſs, and promiſe much more.

No ſuch thing is to be expected at Petit Guaves. This place, ſo famous in the times of free-booters, is now but a heap of ruins. Its former ſplendor was owing to a road, where ſhips of all burdens found excellent anchorage, conveniences for refitting, and a ſhelter from all winds. As a harbour it would ſtill be famous and frequented, were it not for the vicinity of Gonave, and for the ſtagnating waters of the river Abaret, which is loſt in the moraſſes, and makes the air foul and unwholeſome.

Leogane, ſituated within five leagues of Petit Guaves, contains 327 houſes; which form a long ſquare, and fifteen ſtreets, wide and well laid out. It ſtands half a league from the ſea, in a narrow but fertile plain, well cultivated, and watered with a great many rivulets. The inhabitants are extremely deſirous of having a canal opened from the town to the anchorage, which would ſave the inconvenience of land carriage. If it were adviſeable to have a fortified town on the weſtern coaſt, undoubtedly Leogane would claim the preference. It ſtands upon plain ground, is not commanded by any eminence, nor can it be annoyed by any ſhips. But to ſecure it from being ſurpriſed, it ſhould be ſurrounded by a rampart of earth with a deep ditch, which might be filled with water without the leaſt expence. This would not coſt near ſo much as what has been done at Port-au-Prince; and with what ſucceſs the reader ſhall judge.

The weſtern part of the iſland was the firſt that was cultivated by the French, that being at the greateſt diſtance from the Spaniſh forces, which they had then reaſon

ſon to fear. This being in the center of the coaſts in their poſſeſſion, the ſeat of government was fixed there. It was firſt ſettled at the Petit Guaves, but they were ſoon diſguſted at the barrenneſs and unwholeſomeneſs of of this ſpot. It was then transferred to Leogane, and afterwards to Port-au-Prince, which in 1750 became the reſidence of a ſuperior council, a commander in chief and an intendant. The place that was made choice of for the intended capital, is a gap, about 1400 toiſes long in a direct line, and commanded on both ſides. Two harbours, formed by ſome iſlets, have afforded a pretence for this injudicious choice. The harbour intended for trading veſſels being now almoſt choaked up, can no longer admit men of war with ſafety, and the great harbour deſigned for theſe, being as unwholeſome as the other from the exhalations of the ſmall iſlands, neither is nor can be defended by any thing againſt a ſuperior enemy.

A SMALL ſquadron might even block up a ſtronger one, in ſo unfavourable a poſition. Gonave, which divides the bay in two, would leave a free and ſafe paſſage for the leſſer ſquadron; the ſea winds would prevent the other ſquadron from getting up to it; the land winds, by facilitating the exit of the enemy's ſhips from the harbour, would leave them the choice of retreating through either of the outlets of St. Mark and Leogane; and they would always have the advantage of keeping Gonave between them and the French ſquadron.

BUT what would be the conſequence if the French ſquadron ſhould prove the weakeſt? Diſabled and purſued, it could never gain a ſhelter that runs ſo deep into land as Port-au-Prince, before the conqueror had taken advantage of its defeat. If the diſabled ſhips ſhould reach the place, nothing could hinder the enemy from purſuing them almoſt in a line, and even from entering the king's harbour, where they would take refuge.

BOOK IV.

THE beſt of all ſtations for a cruize, is that where you may chuſe whether you will accept or decline the fight, where there is but a ſmall ſpace to guard, where the whole may be viewed from one central point, where one may be concealed without going far, get wood and water at pleaſure, and ſail in open ſeas, in which there is nothing to fear but from ſqualls. Theſe are the advantages that an enemy's ſquadron will always have over the French ſhips at anchor in Port-au-Prince. A ſingle frigate might ſafely come and bid defiance to them, and would be ſufficient to intercept any trading ſhips that ſhould attempt to go in or out without a convoy.

NEVERTHELESS a harbour ſo unfavourable as this hath determined the building of the town. It extends along the ſea-ſhore the ſpace of 1200 toiſes, that is, nearly along the opening, which the ſea has made in the center of the weſtern coaſt. In this great extent, which runs in to the depth of 550 toiſes, are buried 558 houſes or dwelling places, diſperſed in 29 ſtreets. The drainings of the torrents that fall from the hills, make this place always damp, without ſupplying it with good water. The inhabitants muſt ſend a great way to get more wholeſome water. Add to all this, the little ſecurity there is in a place commanded on the land ſide, and on the ſea ſide, eaſy of acceſs in all parts. Even the ſmall iſlands which divide the harbours, would be ſo far from defending the town from an invaſion, that they would only ſerve to cover the landing.

THIS deſcription, which will not be contradicted by any unprejudiced man acquainted with the place, plainly ſhews that the government has beſtowed too much attention on Port-au-Prince. It would be a fatal error obſtinately to fight againſt nature, and endeavour to defend by art a place that lies open to invaſion on all ſides.

It

It would ſtill be a greater error, to collect there the courts of juſtice, troops, warlike ſtores, proviſions, the arſenal; in a word, all that conſtitutes the ſupport of a great colony, and at the ſame time to leave it open to the enemy. This port ought merely to ſerve for the embarkation of the corps gathered in the adjacent fields, and in the rich plain of the Cul-de-ſac. This would only require a guard ſufficient to prevent a ſurprize, and to ſecure the retreat of the inhabitants, who will always be ready to abandon a place, which muſt inevitably ſurrender on the firſt attack.

SAINT Mark is much in the ſame caſe. This town is not very deep, but extends along the ſhore, at the bottom of a bay crowned with a creſcent of hills, which are only parted from the ſea by a very ſmall plain. Nature has left this interval of life and cultivation between the aridity of the mountains and the abyſs of the waters. But theſe hills, though barren, are not altogether uſeleſs: they have the property, which is found in no other part of the colony, of furniſhing as good free-ſtone as any in Europe, and the coaſt itſelf ſupplies it without much labour. With this ſtone the town is built. It conſiſts of 154 houſes, formerly defended by an intrenchment of earth, which is no longer extant.

ST. Mark is a very trading place. All ſuch commodities as are not ſent to Port-au-Prince are brought thither, as likewiſe are all the crops gathered from within the town to the mole of St. Nicholas. The proſperity of this place would be greatly increaſed, if one could water the plain of the Artibonite, which is naturally too dry, but would ſurpaſs the beſt lands in fruitfulneſs, if this could be once effected.

THE Artibonite takes its name from a river which divides it lengthways, almoſt from one end to the other.

BOOK IV.

The waters of this river confined by ſluices flow conſtantly on the higheſt part of the plain. The height of the bed of the river has long ago ſuggeſted the idea of dividing it, and it has been geometrically demonſtrated that this is practicable; but a project founded on mathematical knowledge, ought not to be carried into execution without the utmoſt caution. The impetuoſity of the ſtream, when ſwelled by rains, and the ſoftneſs of the ſoil on which the river flows, make it very dangerous to make any alteration in the banks. The ſmalleſt outlet, injudiciouſly made, would in a few moments open ſuch an enormous breach, as would make way for every alarming and deſtructive inundations over a vaſt tract of land.

NEVERTHELESS all the proprietors are impatient to ſee this great work undertaken. But adminiſtration muſt judge whether private ſocieties, which ſolicit leave to procure conveniences of water that can only ſerve to enrich their own grounds, would not be detrimental to the project of watering the whole country. Rather than ſuffer public welfare to give place to private intereſt, the government ſhould aſſiſt thoſe who cannot afford to contribute towards the general conveyance of water. They would ſoon be repaid by an increaſe of one-ſixth in the produce of the colony. This increaſe would be greater ſtill, if a method could be deviſed to drain that part of the coaſt which is drowned in the waters of the Attibonite. By ſuch means the man who enjoys the bleſſings of ſociety, makes the earth ſubſervient to his own uſe, by altering the courſe of the rivers. The fertility he imparts to the land, can alone juſtify his conqueſts, if indeed art and labour, law and virtues, may be allowed in proceſs of time to atone for the injuſtice of an invaſion.

THE

THE weſtern part of the colony, which on the laſt day of December, 1766, contained alone 83,080 ſlaves, is ſeparated from the northern part by the mole of St. Nicholas, which lays on both coaſts. At the head of the cape is a good, ſafe, and commodious harbour. It ſtands directly oppoſite to point Maizi, in the iſland of Cuba, and ſeems naturally deſtined by this poſition to become the moſt important poſt in all America for the convenience of navigation. The opening of the bay is 1450 toiſes broad. The road leads to the harbour, and the harbour to the baſon. All this great receſs is wholeſome, though the ſea is quite ſtill there. The baſon, which ſeems as if made for the purpoſes of careening, has not the inconvenience of cloſe harbours. It is open to the weſt and north winds, and yet, if they blow ever ſo hard, they can never interrupt or retard the work that is done in the harbour. The peninſula where the harbour is ſituated, riſes gradually to the plains, which ſtand upon a very large baſis; it ſeems as it were a ſingle mountain, with a broad and flat top deſcending with a gentle ſlope to unite with the reſt of the iſland.

THE mole of St. Nicholas was long over-looked by the inhabitants of St. Domingo. The bare hills and rocks it abounded with afforded nothing worth their notice. The uſe which the Engliſh made of it during the laſt war, has made it of ſome conſequence. The French miniſtry, inſtructed by our very enemies, ſent a number of Acadians and Germans there, who died there very faſt. This is conſtantly the fate that attends all new ſettlements between the tropics. The few that have out-lived the fatal effects of the climate, and thoſe of vexation and poverty, are daily deſerting the poor and barren ſoil of St. Nicholas. Poſſibly the freedom granted to foreigners to frequent this place, may put a ſtop to the emigration. Perhaps, the facility with

BOOK IV.

which the coloniſts may be able to diſpoſe of their crops and their cattle in conſequence of this communication, may fix them upon the lands allotted to them. They afford, however, no commodities fit for Europe, except cotton.

THE next ſettlement on the north coaſt is called Port Paix. It owed its origin to the neighbourhood of Tortuga, whoſe inhabitants took refuge there when they forſook that iſland. The grounds were cleared ſo early, that this is one of the healthieſt ſpots in St. Domingo, and has long ſince attained the utmoſt degree of richneſs and population it is capable of; but is not very conſiderable, though induſtry has been carried ſo far, as even to bore mountains for the conveyance of water to moiſten the grounds. They have very little ſugar, and chiefly apply themſelves to the culture of indigo, coffee, and cotton. It is on all ſides ſo difficult to come at the Port Paix, that it is in a manner cut off from the reſt of the iſland. The next ſettlement to this retired place is Cape François.

THIS town is built on the ſide of an extenſive plain, twenty leagues long and four broad. Few lands are better watered; but there is not one river where a ſloop can go up above three miles. All this great ſpace is interſected with ſtrait roads, forty feet wide, and planted on both ſides with hedges of citron-trees, thick enough to ſerve as a fence againſt the beaſts. There are long avenues of tall trees, leading up to ſeveral habitations. It were to be wiſhed ſuch as theſe had been planted along the roads; for they would not only have been ornamental, but would alſo have afforded a delightful ſhade for travellers, and prevented that ſcarcity of wood which is already complained of. Though the French had long been ſenſible of the value of this ſoil, which is rich and fruitful beyond deſcription, they did not ſet about

about cultivating it till the year 1670, when they had nothing more to fear from the inroads of the Spaniards, who till then had continued in that neighbourhood in a ſtate of hoſtility. The method that was taken of bringing thither the inhabitants of Santa Cruz and St. Chriſtopher's, haſtened the progreſs of this ſettlement. It is now, of all places in the world, that which produces the greateſt quantity of ſugar.

THE plain, which is bounded to the north only by the ſea, is terminated to the ſouth by a ridge of mountains, which varies in depth from four to eight leagues. Few of them are very high; ſeveral of them may be cultivated to the very ſummit, and they are all interſected at intervals with exceeding fine plantations of coffee and indigo. In theſe delightful vales, all the ſweets of ſpring are enjoyed, without either winter or ſummer. There are but two ſeaſons in the year, and they are equally fine. The ground, always laden with fruits and covered with flowers, realizes the delights and riches of poetical deſcriptions. Wherever we turn our eyes we are enchanted with a variety of objects, coloured and reflected by the pureſt light. The air is temperate in the day time, and the nights are conſtantly cool. The inhabitants of the plain, upon which the ſun darts his moſt powerful rays, repair to theſe mountains to breathe a cooler air, and allay their thirſt with wholeſome water. Happy the mortal who firſt taught the French to ſettle on this delicious ſpot.

THIS man was one of thoſe whom the ſpirit of intoleration in religious matters began to drive out from their native country. A Calviniſt, named Gobin, went and reared the firſt habitation at this cape. More houſes were built as the grounds were cleared. This ſettlement had already made ſuch progreſs in the compaſs of five and twenty years, as to excite the jealouſy of the

BOOK III.

the Engliſh. They joined their forces with thoſe of Spain, and attacking it both by land and ſea, in 1695, they took, plundered, and reduced it to aſhes.

A GREAT advantage might have been made of this misfortune. Intereſt, which is the primary founder of all colonies, had induced the inhabitants to chuſe in a harbour that is three leagues in circumference, the foot of the hill for the portion of the cape, becauſe it was the place that lay moſt convenient for the anchorage. This ſituation, however, being unwholeſome, ſhould have induced the coloniſts to ſettle ſome where elſe. This circumſtance they did not attend to, but rebuilt their town where it never ought to have been built at all, in a cloſe place, in which the rays of the ſun are rendered more ſcorching by the reflection of the mountains, and the wind can only come from the coaſt over the marſhes. Yet ſuch is the richneſs of the adjacent country, that the town has always proſpered, and increaſed in buildings more and more pleaſant and beautiful.

THE cape is now interſected by twenty-nine ſtrait ſtreets, into 226 cluſters of houſes, which amount to 810; but theſe ſtreets are too narrow, and having no ſlope, are always dirty; for as they are paved only in the middle, the kennels, which are not even on each ſide, gather into puddles and common ſhores, inſtead of draining off the waters.

SEVERAL ſquares have been planned in this city. That of Notre Dame, though an old one, is hardly levelled. It is a long ſquare, with a fountain in the middle, which is often dry, for want of being properly ſupplied. A church has been began ſome years ſince, but its immenſe ſize, the want of money, and the tedious importation of ſtone from Europe, makes the work go on very ſlowly. The ſquare of Clugny, which is a regular one, was built from neceſſity, to remove an offenſive morals;

and

and the drying up of this bog muſt certainly contribute to the wholeſomeneſs of the air. The governor's houſe, the barracks, and a royal magazine, are the only public buildings that attract the notice of the curious; but the humane obſerver cannot avoid beholding with pleaſure thoſe foundations that are called the houſes of Providence. Moſt of the French, who firſt come into the colony, are deſtitute of reſources and talents, and before they have acquired induſtry to get their living, are almoſt all carried off by ſickneſs. At the cape, theſe helpleſs diſtreſſed creatures are taken into two habitations, where the men and the women are ſeverally provided with every thing they want, till they can get employed. It is a ſhame that ſuch an excellent inſtitution has not been copied in other places; a neglect equally repugnant to humanity and good policy.

It would be for the intereſt of trade to erect in all colonies ſuch hoſpitable houſes as thoſe of St. Domingo. Theſe may be ſaid to be truly pious and divine inſtitutions, as they are calculated for the preſervation of mankind. Whether it is owing to this, or to good management in other reſpects, certain it is, that fewer in proportion die at the cape, than in the other towns along the ſea-coaſt. The care that has been taken to purify the air by draining the fens, the thorough clearing of the hills, the proximity of a plain almoſt completely cultivated, all theſe circumſtances have concurred to correct the noxious influence of an unhealthy ſituation.

The harbour of the cape deſerves to receive the rich produce of all the adjacent country; and it is admirably well adapted to admit the ſhips that come from Europe. The air is the beſt in all the iſlands. It lies open to none but the north-eaſt wind, and cannot even be hurt by this, the entrance being full of reefs, which break

BOOK IV.

break the violence of the waves. A ſhip gets out very eaſily, and ſoon launches into the open ſea.

FOURTEEN leagues to windward of the cape is Fort Dauphin. It was formerly a town, which was called Bayaha; but ſince it has been removed nearer to the ſea and has changed its name with its place. The new town lies in the inmoſt center of a ſpacious harbour, which has only one outlet, formed by a channel, 1500 toiſes long and about 100 broad. It is ſurrounded by a river to the weſt, and terminated by the ſea ſhore on the eaſt. The fort ſtands on a very ſmall peninſula to the north, and on the ſouthern ſide is the plain. The town contains as yet but ſeventy houſes. It is at a ſufficient diſtance from the mountains, to be out of the reach of any hill that might reflect the heat, but ſome fens in the neighbourhood make the air unwholeſome. The fortifications are ſufficient to keep a ſquadron at bay for two or three days.

THOUGH this is ſuch a fine and ſafe harbour, the major part of the produce of its own plain is ſtill ſent to the Cape. The maſs of trade will always attract the leſſer branches, and great ſea-ports will abſorb and dry up ſmall ones.

Produce and population of the colony.

IN 1720 the commodities of the whole colony of St. Domingo amounted only to 1,200,000 pounds weight of indigo, 1,400,000 of white ſugar, and 21,000,000 of raw ſugar. The plantations were extended, and in 1734 thoſe of cotton and coffee were added. In 1754 the commodities were ſold upon the ſpot, for 28,833,581 livres. (1,261,469*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*) It is true they received from the mother country to the acount of 40,628,780 livres (1,777,509*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*) worth of goods. But if the colony got into debt, it was only to haſten its proſperity. The population of whites amounted then to 7758 men capable of bearing arms; to 2525 women, either widows

or

or married; to 781 young marriageable perſons; to 1691 boys, and 1503 girls under twelve years of age. Among the blacks or free mulattos, were reckoned 1362 men fit to bear arms; 1626 widows or married women; 1009 boys, and 864 girls under twelve years of age. The manufactures were peopled with 79,785 negroes; 53,817 negro women; 20,518 negro boys, and 18,428 negro girls. Of raw ſugar they worked 344 plantations, and 255 white ſugar; 3379 of indigo; and there were cultivated 98,946 cocoa trees; 6,300,367 cotton plants; and 21,053,842 caſſia trees. The proviſions of the colony were 5,520,503 banana trees; 1,201,849 plots of potatoes; 226,098 plots of yams; and 2,830,586 trenches of caſſava. The cattle did not exceed 63,454 horſes and mules, and 92,946 heads of horned cattle.

In 1764, St. Domingo had 8,786 white men able to bear arms, of which 4,306 lived in the north, 3,470 in the weſt, and only 1,010 in the ſouth. Theſe forces were increaſed by 4,114 mulattos or free negroes, who were enrolled. Of theſe there were 497 to the ſouth, 2,250 to the weſt, and 1,370 to the north.

The number of ſlaves was 206,000, men, women and children, parcelled out as follows: 12,000 in nine cities, ſome artificers, and ſome employed in domeſtic ſervices; 4000 employed in the leſſer towns, in the tile and brick kilns, pot houſes, lime kilns, and other neceſſary handicrafts; 1000 deſtined to the cultivation of proviſions and kitchen grounds; 180,000 devoted to productions for exportation. Since this eſtimate was made, about fifteen thouſand negroes have been brought annually into the colony. Theſe have not ſupplied the place of the dead, for that vacancy was more than filled up by ſlaves ſmuggled into the iſland, nor have they been em-

BOOK IV.

employed as ſervants in the cities, where a leſſer number is kept than formerly. Theſe freſh negroes were all able-bodied men, and have been put to the labours of the plantations, which they muſt have greatly improved. Neither have the plantations received any injury by the ſubſtituting of ſome articles in lieu of others.

INSTEAD of indigo, which began to yield but poorly on ſome grounds that were too much ſpent, forty new ſugar plantations have been formed. There are now 260 to the north, 197 to the weſt, and 84 to the ſouth. The refining works have been increaſed in ſtill greater proportion than the plantations, and the quantity of white ſugar is almoſt doubled. Cotton has made great progreſs in the vallies to the weſt, and coffee has thriven prodigiouſly in thoſe to the north. Some plantations of cocoa have even ſprung up in the woods of the great bay. Peace has reſtored the old branches of trade, and opened new ones. Under her protection every thing proſpers and ſhe conſtitutes the felicity of both worlds.

WE may affirm, from undoubted authority, that in the courſe of the year 1767, there have been exported from this colony no leſs than 72,718,761 pounds weight of raw ſugar; 51,562,013 pounds of white ſugar; 1,769,562 pounds of indigo; 150,000 pounds of cocoa; 12,197,977 pounds of coffee; 2,965,920 pounds of cotton; 8,470 of hides in the hair; 10,350 tanned hides; 4,108 caſks of rum; 21,104 caſks of molaſſes.

THIS is the ſum total of the productions entered at the cuſtom-houſes of St. Domingo, in 1767, and exported on board 347 ſhips ſent from France. The goods taken in under ſail, the overplus of the weight, the payment of the ſmuggled blacks, cannot have carried away leſs than a ſixth part of the produce of the colony, which muſt be added to the known eſtimate of her wealth.

Since

Since that period all the plantations are increaſed, and thoſe of coffee trebled.

OPINIONS differ as to the increaſe it is ſtill capable of attaining. Some think it may be doubled, others rate it only at one third. All agree that the culture will ſtill admit of great improvements which may be expected from the activity of the nation that is poſſeſſed of ſo improveable a ſoil. But can the nation hope to reap the fruits of her labours? Is it certain that ſhe will always preſerve the property of them? Theſe two queſtions deſerve a ſerious diſcuſſion.

Trade of the French of St. Domingo with the Spaniards ſettled in the ſame iſland.

THE trade which the French of St. Domingo carry on with their indolent neighbours, is of more conſequence than it is generally thought to be. They ſupply them with ſtockings, hats, linnens, guns, hard wares, and ſome wearing apparel; and receive in payment horſes, horned cattle both for ſlaughter and for labour, ſmoaked beef and bacon, ſkins, and laſtly twelve or fifteen hundred thouſand livres (about 59,000*l.* on an average.) which the court of Madrid devotes annually to the maintenance of the governor, the clergy and the troops in the firſt ſettlement the Spaniards ever made in the new world. Excepting ſome few Portugal pieces which retain a nominal value, far above their intrinſic worth, they have no coin but what they draw from their neighbours the Spaniards. Revolutions only which it is impoſſible to foreſee, can ever put a ſtop to this intercourſe between the two nations that divide St. Domingo, and which is carried on both by land and ſea. Here mutual wants get the better of inbred antipathy, or elſe the uniformity of climate ſtifles theſe ſeeds of diviſion.

In what manner the colony can inſure the continuance of its connections with Europe.

It were to be wiſhed that the French coloniſts were as certain of always keeping up their connections with Europe. Had the firſt adventurers who went over to St.

BOOK IV.

St. Domingo been in a condition to think of plantations, they would doubtleſs have ſeized upon that part of the iſland which lies moſt to windward, which they might eaſily have done. The plains on that ſide are large and fertile; the land lies quite open to the ocean; the coaſts are ſafe; the harbours may be entered as ſoon as diſcovered, and one loſes ſight of them the very day one ſails out. The track is ſuch that no enemy can form any ambuſcade; the coaſt is unfit for cruiſing; theſe latitudes are convenient for the Europeans, and the paſſage expeditious. But as the ſcheme of the French navigators was to attack the Spaniſh ſhips, and to infeſt the gulph of Mexico, the poſſeſſions they occupied in St. Domingo were ſurrounded by Cuba, Jamaica, the Turks; by Tortuga, the Caicos, Goyava, and Lucayos iſlands; where the roads lie concealed, and are the lurking places of the corſairs. They are alſo ſurrounded by a multitude of ſand-banks and rocks, which make the progreſs of a ſhip ſlow and uncertain; and by narrow ſeas, which muſt give a great advantage to the enemy, either for landing, for blocking up, or for cruiſing.

DES HOUSE
XFORD
RARY

AGAINST ſo many dangers no effectual remedy will ever be found out, but a ſquadron conſtantly kept there in time of war, and always in motion. Whether it has been owing to inability in the government to afford this kind of protection to the colony, or to the negligence of the admirals, who have lain by inactive in the harbour with their armed veſſels, certain it is, that hitherto the only plan of defence which could ſecure the trade of St. Domingo has never been purſued.

IF the miniſtry and the navy ſhould alter their principles and their conduct, the firſt thing to be done will be to protect the latitudes about the cape, where the navigators coming from France always enter in time of war,

war, and moſtly too in the time of peace. The neceſſity of reconnoitring the promontory of la Grange, ſituated ten leagues higher up, bring thither ſwarms of privateers, who ſeldom miſs of their prey. Two good armed veſſels ſtationed there, would eaſily make themſelves maſters of that cruize. If, contrary to all expectation, the enemy ſhould come with a ſuperior force, no doubt they muſt yield, but it would probably be but for a ſhort time.

HAVING thus facilitated the entrance of ſhips to the Cape, the next thing would be to ſecure their going out, which might be effected in the following manner. One of the two men of war, which ſhould always be ſtationed in the harbour, would take ſeveral merchant men under her convoy, ſee them ſafe out, and return within three or four days at furtheſt. She would ſeldom be in any danger, becauſe ſhips of the line are hardly ever ſeen in thoſe parts, nor could they be there without being obſerved.

WHILST one part of the ſquadron was employed in protecting the navigation of the north, the reſt and moſt conſiderable part would cover the other coaſts of the colony. This part would have its chief ſtation at Port-au-prince. Two of theſe veſſels would go from thence to the Mole St. Nicholas, as dangerous a place for ſhips going from the cape to the weſt and ſouth, as la Grange for thoſe that want to land at the cape. They ſhould never paſs the point of the Mole; the forces ſtationed to the northward ſhould endeavour to ſcour the ſea as far as that place, which is the more important, as all the armaments from New-England going to Jamaica muſt be intercepted at this paſſage they are obliged to make. The ſquadron of Port-au-prince ſhould further be commiſſioned to ſhew itſelf now and then to the ſouthward of the iſland, to protect its own latitudes, and to convoy

BOOK IV.

all homeward-bound ships till they were got clear of the iſland. It might even occaſionally go and cruize upon Jamaica when it could be ſpared.

HAVING thus provided for the ſecurity of the produce of the colony from the attempts of the enemy, it is incumbent on the mother-country to take the neceſſary meaſures for preſerving ſo valuable a property.

To put an end to the diſputes ſubſiſting between the French and Spaniards at St. Domingo, it would be neceſſary to fix the limits of both colonies.

IN former times, the Spaniards who ſtill occupy half the iſland, were formidable rivals. As ſoon as the French had made their appearance at St. Domingo, warm conteſts aroſe between the two nations. A few private and inſignificant men ventured to go to war with a people armed under a regular authority. Theſe men were acknowledged by their country as ſoon as they were thought ſtrong enough to maintain themſelves in their uſurpations. A commander was ſent to them who bore the name of governor of Tortuga and St. Domingo, which title was afterwards changed to that of governor-general of the Leeward iſlands. The brave man who was firſt appointed to command thoſe intrepid adventurers, caught their ſpirit to ſuch a degree as to propoſe to his court the conqueſt of the whole iſland. He pledged his life for the ſucceſs of the undertaking, provided they would ſend him a ſquadron ſtrong enough to block up the harbour of the capital.

THE miniſtry of Verſailles, neglecting a project which was in reality more practicable than it appeared to them at a diſtance, left the French expoſed to continual hoſtilities. Notwithſtanding this they always repulſed them ſucceſsfully, and even carried deva[illegible]ation into the enemy's country; but thoſe animoſities kept up in their minds a ſpirit of robbery and plunder, indiſpoſed them for uſeful labours, and ſtopt the progreſs of agriculture, which ſhould be the ultimate end of every well-regulated

lated colony, and the firſt object of every ſociety that is in the poſſeſſion of lands. The error which France had fallen into, in not ſeconding the ardour of the new coloniſts for the conqueſts of the whole iſland, was likely to have loſt her that part of which ſhe was already in poſſeſſion. Whilſt the French were engaged in carrying on the war of 1688 againſt all Europe, the Spaniards and the Engliſh, who both dreaded ſeeing them firmly eſtabliſhed at St. Domingo, united their forces to drive them out. Their firſt attempts gave them reaſon to expect a complete ſucceſs, when they quarrelled with each other, and from that time became irreconcileable enemies. Ducaſſe, who managed the colony with much ſagacity and great reputation, took advantage of their diviſions to attack them one after the other. He firſt fell upon Jamaica, where he deſtroyed all with fire and ſword. From thence he was preparing to turn his arms againſt St. Domingo, and would infallibly have reduced the whole iſland, had he not been ſtopped in this expedition by orders from his court.

THE houſe of Bourbon aſcended the throne of Spain, and the French nation loſt all hopes of conquering St. Domingo. Hoſtilities, which had not even been ſuſpended there, by the treaties of Aix-la-Chapelle, Nimeguen, and Ryſwick, ceaſed at laſt between people who could never be true friends to each other. The French planters recovered their tranquillity. For ſome time paſt, their ſlaves taking advantage of the national diviſions, had ſhaken off their chains, and removed into a diſtrict where they found freedom and no labour. This deſertion, which muſt naturally have increaſed, was abated by the Spaniards entering into a contract to bring home the fugitives to their neighbours, for the ſum of 250 livres (10*l.* 18*s.* 9*d.*) a head. Although this agreement

BOOK IV.

was not very religiouſly obſerved, it proved a powerful check till the diſſenſions that divided the two nations in 1718. At this period the negroes deſerted their works in multitudes. This loſs induced the French to think of reviving their old project of expelling totally from the iſland ſuch neighbours, who were equally dangerous from their indolence, as from their turbulent ſpirit. The war did not laſt long enough to bring about this revolution. At the concluſion of the peace, Philip V. gave orders for the reſtitution of all the fugitives that could be found. They were juſt embarked, to be ſent to their old maſters, when the people roſe and reſcued them: an act which we could hardly diſapprove, had they been prompted to it by humanity, rather than by national hatred. It will always be pleaſing to ſee people excited to rebellion on account of the ſlavery of the miſerable negroes. Thoſe who were reſcued on this occaſion fled into inacceſſible mountains, where they have ſince multiplied to ſuch a degree, as to be able to afford a ſafe retreat to all the ſlaves that can find means to join them. There, in conſequence of the cruelty of civilized nations, they become as free and as fierce as ſo many tygers, in expectation, perhaps, of a chief and a conqueror, who may reſtore the violated rights of mankind, by ſeizing upon an iſland which ſeems to have been intended for the ſlaves who till the ground, and not for the tyrants who water it with the blood of thoſe victims.

THE preſent ſyſtem of politics will not allow France and Spain to be at war with each other. Should any event occaſion a rupture between the two nations, notwithſtanding the compact between the two crowns, it would probably be but a tranſient quarrel, that would not allow time for projecting conqueſts which muſt ſoon be reſtored. The enterprizes on both ſides would, therefore

fore, be confined to ravaging the country; and in this caſe the nation that does not cultivate, at leaſt at St. Domingo, would prove formidable by its very poverty, to that which has already made ſome progreſs in the culture of its lands. A Caſtilian governor was ſo ſenſible of this, that he once wrote to the French commandant, that if he forced him to an invaſion, he would deſtroy more in the compaſs of one league, than they could if they were to lay waſte all the country he commanded.

HENCE it is demonſtrable, that if a war ſhould break out in Europe between the two powers, the moſt active of thoſe powers ought to aſk for a neutrality in favour of this iſland. Perhaps, it would be for the intereſt of both, that it ſhould be totally in the hands of the moſt laborious. But even though the court of Madrid ſhould reſolve to relinquiſh a territory which is rather a burthen to Spain, there are ſtill many difficulties remaining. Great-Britain, who is now miſtreſs of the fate of America, would hardly conſent to ſuch an acceſſion of wealth to her rival.

A MORE natural ſcheme, and which ought to meet with no obſtacle, would be to fix the boundaries of the two nations that ſhare St. Domingo. This arrangement ought to have taken place on the acceſſion of Philip V. to the throne; an event which gave the French poſſeſſions a degree of ſtability they never had before. It might have been expected, that the nation which gave the other a king, ſhould have ſtipulated that all the territory lying between the coaſts they inhabited to the north and ſouth, ſhould remain under their dominion. More powerful intereſts then claimed the attention of both parties, and this diſcuſſion was put off to another time, which is never come. Not a ſingle conference has ever been opened to ſettle this difficulty. This neg-

BOOK IV.

glect has been the occaſion of much bloodſhed amongſt the inhabitants. The ſeeds of rage and diſcord were ſown in every breaſt; and at laſt, in 1730, both nations took up arms to deſtroy each other. The principal people of both colonies ſucceeded at that time in calming their fury, by a proviſional convention; but the ſucceſſors of thoſe able and moderate men may not always have the ſame authority or the ſame good fortune. The moſt effectual method would be to put an end for ever to this inteſtine war, by legally authenticating the reſpective property of both parties.

To proceed with order and juſtice, it would be proper to go as far back as the year 1700. At that period, both nations being upon friendly terms, remained the juſt owners of the lands they then poſſeſſed. The encroachments made during the courſe of this century, by the ſubjects of one of the crowns, are the incroachments of individuals upon each other; they are not become lawful poſſeſſions by being tolerated, and the rights of both powers are ſtill the ſame, ſince they have not been abrogated, directly or indirectly, by any convention.

Now it is evident from inconteſtable facts, that in the beginning of this century, the French poſſeſſions which are now bounded on the northern coaſt by the river of Maſſacre, extended then to the river Yague. Thoſe of the ſouthern coaſt, which had been puſhed on as far as the point of Cape Beata, have been contracted in proceſs of time to the inlet of Pitre. This revolution has been inſenſibly brought about, and is the natural conſequence of the oeconomical ſyſtem of the two neighbouring nations. The one which has applied itſelf chiefly to agriculture, has collected all its poſſeſſions towards the moſt frequented ports, where the produce might be moſt readily diſpoſed of. The other, whoſe ſub-

ſubjects were ſhepherds rather than planters, wanting more room for the breeding of cattle, have ſeized upon all the forſaken lands. By the nature of things, the paſtures have been enlarged and the fields contracted, or at leaſt brought cloſer together. It is not equitable that the moſt induſtrious nation, that which does moſt good to the ground by improving it, ſhould be ſtripped by the other, which only wanders about and conſumes without propagating.

It would not be ſo eaſy to fix the boundaries of the French in the inland parts, the frequent and daily revolutions that have happened there, having occaſioned much uncertainty and confuſion. The two colonies are at preſent ſeparated by the mountains of Ounaminthe, of the Trou, of the great river, of the Artibonite, and of the Mirebalai. By this barrier, the French are confined every where, excepting the points of Mole St. Nicholas and Cape Tiburon, to a narrow ſlip, which extends no where more than nine leagues and a half, and in ſome places not above ſix leagues at moſt. This territory forms a kind of creſcent, whoſe convexity takes in 250 leagues of ſea coaſt, to the north, weſt and ſouth. But theſe limits cannot ſubſiſt, for a reaſon which muſt get the better of all other conſiderations.

The French ſettlements to the north, are divided from thoſe to the weſt and ſouth by inacceſſible mountains. The impoſſibility of ſuccouring them, expoſes them to the invaſion of a power which is equally an enemy to both nations. The common danger, which creates a kind of reciprocal intereſt, ſhould engage the court of Madrid to ſettle the limits in ſuch a manner, that her ally may find the aſſiſtance ſhe may want for her defence. The land that ſhould be given up is rugged, a very indifferent ſoil, and at a great diſtance from the ſea. The proprietors of theſe lands, which are, in-

BOOK IV.

deed, uncultivated, but covered with flocks, ſhould be indemnified by France, with a generoſity which ſhould leave them no room to regret what they had loſt.

Meaſures which ought to be taken by France, to protect this colony from foreign invaſions.

WHEN the poſſeſſions of the colony are thus connected and ſupported within, by an uninterrupted chain of communication, they muſt be fortified againſt the attacks of the only enemy that is truly formidable, the Engliſh. If they mean to attack St. Domingo by the weſt or ſouth, they will collect their forces at Jamaica; if by the north, they will make their preparations at Barbadoes, or ſome other of the Leeward iſlands, from whence they may reach the Cape in ſeven or eight days, whereas it would take five or ſix weeks to come to that port from Jamaica.

THE weſt and ſouth are incapable of being defended. The immenſe extent of the tract renders it impoſſible to maintain any connection or regularity in the motions of the troops. If they are diſperſed, they become uſeleſs by being divided; if they are collected, for the defence of ſuch poſts as are moſt liable to be attacked, from the natural weakneſs of their poſition, they would be in danger of being all loſt at once. Large battalions would be but a burden upon ſuch extenſive coaſts, which preſent too much flank or too much front to the enemy. We muſt be content with erecting or keeping up batteries to protect the roads, the merchant ſhips, and the coaſting trade, to keep off privateers, and even to prevent the landing of a man of war or two, that might come to ravage the coaſt and levy contributions. The light troops, which are ſufficient to ſupport theſe batteries, will give ground in proportion to the advances of the enemy, and only take care to avoid ſurrendering till they are in danger.

BUT it is not neceſſary that we ſhould give up every kind of defence. At the back of each coaſt, there ſhould be

be a place for ſhelter and for reinforcement, always open for retreat, out of the enemy's reach, ſafe from inſults, and able to repulſe an attack. This ſhould be a narrow paſs, where one might intrench and defend one's ſelf to advantage. Such is that of la Gaſcogne on the weſtern coaſt. It has every natural advantage of ſituation, with this only inconvenience, that it is not placed in the middle between all the quarters. The general rendezvous for the ſouth, eſtabliſhed on the habitation called Perrein, at the diſtance of 10,000 toiſes from the Cayes, is a retreat capable of very great reſiſtance. In the center of all motions of retreat, it comprehends all that can be wiſhed for as a defence. Nature has provided it with a narrow paſs, and at the ſame time covered its flanks, and left an opening at the back, which, whilſt it ſhuts every avenue againſt an enemy, ſecures a communication with the interior parts of the colony.

FROM theſe impregnable retreats, they may continually harraſs the conqueror, who having no ſtrong hold, will be perpetually expoſed to be ſurprized. Theſe alarms would be doubled, if our people were provided with a few ſquadrons of light horſe, which might be procured at a ſmall expence. The Spaniards of St. Domingo ſell Andaluſian horſes at a moderate price, which are very tractable, and yet full of ſpirit, are unſhod, and feed all the year round in the meadows, where they ſleep in open air. Theſe are excellent for ſkirmiſhes, and they will afford time to wait for ſuccours, which may be brought up at any time from the north. The troops employed in this ſervice, may, if wanted, fly to the aſſiſtance of thoſe other parts of the colony which can only be attacked by ſea.

ALL thoſe who are acquainted with the iſland of St. Domingo, know that the French ſettlements make as it were two diſtinct colonies, one to the ſouth and weſt, and

BOOK IV.

and the other to the north, which have no real and beneficial communication with the continent. So that even ſuppoſing the Engliſh were ſo ſtrong, or had actually got a firm footing in the weſt and ſouth, they never could penetrate to the north by land. Should they attempt it, it muſt be by that narrow ſlip which joins the French poſſeſſions on the weſt and north, at Cape St. Nicholas, or elſe by croſſing the Spaniſh territories, both which are impracticable.

THE firſt is a barren deſert, ſo full of foreſts, paſſes, and precipices, that a man on foot cannot get through but with much time and extreme labour. The other way is little better. It lies acroſs the Spaniſh mountains, which are high, barren, and craggy, and whoever ſhould attempt to paſs them, muſt expect to be harraſſed. The northern coaſt, therefore, being inacceſſible by land, can only be attacked by ſea. As it is richer, more populous, and leſs extenſive than the other two, it is more adapted to ſupport a land war, and to make a regular defence.

THE ſea-ſide, which is more or leſs rocky, is in many places ſwampy ground, and the mangroves, which cover theſe marſhes, make them quite impenetrable. This natural defence is not ſo common as it was, ſince many of theſe coppices have been cut away. But the landing places, which are commonly no better than gaps, ſurrounded on all ſides by theſe woods overflowed with water, require but a moderate front to ſtop them up. Magazines, and other ſtone buildings are common there; they furniſh poſts for the erection of battlements, and ſecure the placing of ſome maſked batteries.

THIS firſt line of the ſhore ſeems to promiſe, that a coaſt of eighteen leagues, ſo well defended by nature, would, when ſeconded by the valour of the French, put the enemy in danger of being beaten the moment they ſhould

ſhould land. If their ſchemes were diſcovered, or if the diſpoſitions they were making at ſea, ſhould point out from afar the place of their landing, the forces might repair thither and prevent it. But experience ſhews the infallible advantage of ſquadrons at anchor.

It is not only the firing of broadſides from the ſhips to cover the approach of the boats that facilitates landing; it is the impoſſibility there is of guarding every part of the coaſt. A ſquadron at anchor threatens too many places at once. Land forces move very ſlowly about the windings of the coaſt, while the boats and ſloops arrive ſpeedily by a ſhorter way. The aſſailer follows the ſtring, while the other muſt go all along the bow. Diſappointed and wearied out with a variety of motions, the latter is not leſs apprehenſive of thoſe he ſees by broad day light, than of the manœuvres of the night which he cannot ſee.

In order to be able to oppoſe the deſcent, the firſt thing to be done is to ſuppoſe it actually accompliſhed; all our courage and ſtrength is then exerted in taking advantage of the delays or miſtakes of the enemy. As ſoon as they are obſerved at ſea, they may immediately be expected on land. A large ſhore, on which a landing may be effected, will always leave the plain of the Cape open to invaſion; ſo that the chief attention muſt be directed, not to the ſea-ſhore, but to the inland parts.

The inland parts are in general covered with ſugar-canes, which being more or leſs high, according to their degree of maturity, ſucceſſively make the fields appear ſo many thickets. Theſe are occaſionally ſet on fire, either to cover a march, or to retard the enemy's purſuit, to deceive or aſtoniſh him. In two hours time, inſtead of fields covered with crops, nothing is to be ſeen but an immenſe waſte, covered with ſtubble.

The

BOOK IV.

THE partitions of the cane grounds, the ſavannahs, and the fields where the proviſion grows, no more obſtruct the motions of an army than our meadows. Inſtead of our villages, they have their habitations, which are not ſo populous, but ſtand thicker. The thick and ſtrait hedges of citron-trees, are cloſer and more impenetrable than the fences that incloſe our fields. This is what conſtitutes the greateſt difference in the view of the fields of America and thoſe of Europe.

THROUGHOUT the plain of the Cape there are but few rivers, ſome few brooks, little hillocks; in general the country is flat, there are ſome dikes againſt inundations, few ditches if any, a wood or two, but not very thick, a few fens, a ground that is overflowed in a ſtorm, and grows duſty again with twelves hours ſunſhine, rivers that fill one day and dry the next; ſuch is the general face of the country. This diverſity muſt afford advantageous encampments, and it muſt ever be remembered, that in a defenſive war, the poſt one removes to cannot be too near the one that is quitted.

IT is not the province of a writer to preſcribe rules to military men. Cæſar himſelf told us what he had done, not what we are to do. Topographical deſcriptions, determining the goodneſs of ſuch or ſuch a poſt, the combination of marches, the art of encampments and retreats, the moſt learned theory; all theſe muſt be ſubmitted to the eye of the general, who with the principles in his head, and the materials in his hand, applies both to the circumſtances of the time and place, as they chance to occur. The military genius, though mathematical, is dependent on fortune, which ſuits the order of the operations to the diverſity of appearances. Rules are liable to numberleſs exceptions. The very execution almoſt always alters the plan, and diſcompoſes the ſyſtem of an action. The courage or ſhyneſs of the troops,

troops, the raſhneſs of the enemy, the good or bad ſucceſs of his meaſures, an accidental combat, an unforeſeen event, a ſtorm that ſwells a torrent, a high wind that conceals a ſnare or an ambuſcade under clouds of duſt, thunder that frightens the horſes, or is confounded with the report of the cannon, the temperature of the air, which conſtantly influences the ſpirits of the commander and the blood of the ſoldiery: all theſe are ſo many phyſical or moral cauſes, which by their uncertainty may overturn the beſt concerted projects. BOOK IV.

WHATEVER place is made choice of for a deſcent at St. Domingo, the town of the cape will always be the object. The landing will undoubtedly be ſomewhere in the bay of the Cape, where the ſhips will be ready to augment the land-forces with two thirds of their crews, and to furniſh them with artillery, ammunition, and whatever they may want for the ſiege of that opulent fortreſs. It is towards this bulwark of the colony that all endeavours to keep off the aſſailer muſt be directed. The choice of advantageous poſitions will in ſome meaſure make up for the inequality of numbers. At the moment of landing, the ground muſt be diſputed by ſupporting a kind of falſe attack, without engaging the whole of the troops. The troops muſt be poſted in ſuch a manner as to ſecure two retreats, the one towards the Cape, to form the garriſon of that place, the other in the narrow paſſes of the mountains, where they will keep an intrenched camp, from whence they may annoy the beſiegers, and retard the taking of the place. Should the place ſurrender, as it would be an eaſy matter to favour the evaſion of the troops when they evacuate the place, all the buſineſs would not yet be over. The mountains in which they would take refuge, inacceſſible to an army, ſurround the plain with a double or treble chain,

BOOK IV.

chain, and guard the inhabited parts, by very narrow paſſes, which may be eaſily defended. The principal of theſe is the defile of the great river, where the enemy would find two or three paſſes of the river, that reach from one mountain to the other. In this place four or five hundred men would ſtop the moſt numerous army, by only ſinking the bed of the waters. This reſiſtance might be ſeconded by 25,000 inhabitants, both white and black, who are ſettled in theſe vallies. As the white men are more numerous here than upon the richer lands, and their crops are ſmaller, they cannot afford to conſume any great quantity of the produce of Europe, ſo that what they cultivate is chiefly for their own ſubſiſtence; from this they might eaſily ſupply the troops that ſhould defend their country. Any deficiency in the article of freſh meat, could be made up by the Spaniards, who breed vaſt quantities of cattle on the backs of theſe mountains.

AFTER all, it may happen that the firmneſs of the troops may be worn out by the want of proviſions or warlike ſtores, and they may be either forced or turned back. This ſuggeſted the idea ſome years ago at Verſailles, of building a fortified town in the center of the mountains. Marſhal Noailles was a warm advocate for this ſcheme. It was then imagined, that by means of ſome redoubts of earth, the enemy might be inticed by regular attacks, and inſenſibly exhauſted by the loſs of a great many men, in a climate where ſickneſs deſtroys more than the ſword. It was ſuggeſted that no more ſtrong holds ſhould be erected on the frontiers, where they lie expoſed to the invaſion of the maſters of the ſea, becauſe while they are unable to defend their own habitations, they become ſo many bulwarks for the conquerors, who can eaſily take and guard them with their ſhips,

ſhips, and make a depoſit, or draw from thence arms and men to keep the vanquiſhed in awe. An entirely open country was better in their opinion, for a power that has no maritime ſtrength, than forces diſperſed and forſaken upon ſhores waſted and depopulated by the inclemency of the climate.

It was in the center of the iſland that the hopes of eſtabliſhing a ſolid defence were conceived. A road of twenty or thirty leagues, full of obſtacles; where every march would coſt ſeveral fights, in which the advantage of the poſts would render a detachment formidable to a whole army; where the removing of the artillery would be tedious and laborious; where the difficulty of convoys, and the diſtance of communication with the ocean; where every thing, in ſhort, would conſpire to deſtroy the enemy: ſuch was to be as it were the glacis of the intended fortifications. This capital was to ſtand upon high ground, where the air is more pure and temperate than in the plains below; in the midſt of a country which would ſupply the town with neceſſaries, particularly rice; ſurrounded with flocks and herds, which, feeding upon a ſoil moſt favourable to their increaſe, would be reſerved for times of need; provided with ſtore-houſes proportioned to the town and garriſon. Such a city would have changed the colony into a kingdom, able to ſupport itſelf for a long time; whereas its preſent opulence does but weaken it, and having ſuperfluities without neceſſaries, it enriches a few proprietors, without affording them ſuſtenance.

If the enemy had made themſelves maſters of the ſea-coaſt, which would not be diſputed with them, and were deſirous of collecting the produce, they would ſtand in need of whole armies to keep merely upon the defenſive; for more than this, the continual excurſions from the center would not permit them to do. The troops

in

BOOK IV.

in the inland parts of the iſland, always ſure of a reſpectable retreat, might eaſily be relieved by recruits from Europe, which would find no difficulty in penetrating to the center of a circle of ſo immenſe a circumference; whereas all the Engliſh fleets would not be ſufficient to fill up the vacancies which the climate would be continually making in their garriſons.

NOTWITHSTANDING the evidence of theſe advantages, the project of a fortification in the mountains has been dropt, and a ſyſtem purſued, which would confine the whole defence of the iſland to the mole of St. Nicholas. This new plan could not fail of being applauded by the planters, who do not like to ſee ramparts near their plantations, as they do them more miſchief than they can do them good. They are ſenſible, that the whole force being directed to one point, they ſhould have none but light troops left in their neighbourhood on the three coaſts, which are ſufficient to drive away the privateers with their batteries, and are beſides very convenient defenders, ever ready to yield without reſiſtance, and to diſperſe or capitulate on the leaſt intimation of an invaſion.

THIS plan, ſo favourable to private intereſt, has alſo met with the approbation of ſome perſons well verſed in military affairs. They were of opinion, that the few troops which the colony will admit of, being in a manner loſt in ſo large an iſland as St. Domingo, would make an appearance at the Mole. Bombardopolis is the place that has been choſen, as the moſt reſpectable poſt. This new city ſtands on the margin of a plain, which is high enough to be cool. Its territory is covered with a natural ſavannah, and adorned with groves of palm trees of various kinds. It is not overlooked, which is an uncommon circumſtance at St. Domingo. It might be made a regular place, and of any ſtrength, If it did not prevent an

invaſion, it would at leaſt hinder the conquerors, from getting a firm eſtabliſhment upon the coaſts.

It were to be wiſhed, ſay the ſtateſmen, that from the firſt moment they begun the works at the Mole, they had at once fortified it to the degree that ſo advantageous a ſituation will admit of. It is a treaſure, the poſſeſſion of which ſhould have been ſecured as ſoon as it was diſcovered. Should this precious key of St. Domingo, and, indeed, of all America, fall into the hands of the Engliſh, which it may very poſſibly do on the breaking out of a war, which cannot be far off, this Gibraltar of America, would be more fatal to France and Spain, than even that of Europe.

It is no wonder if all the precautions which have been taken hitherto for the defence of St. Domingo, have had ſo little ſolidity in them. As long as forecaſt and protection ſhall be confined to ſecondary means, which can only protract, not prevent, the conqueſt of the iſland, no invariable plan can be purſued. Fixed principles are the charter of ſuch powers as can depend upon their naval force, to prevent the loſs of, or ſecure the recovery of their colonies. Thoſe of France are not guarded by thoſe floating arſenals, which can at the ſame time attack and defend. Their mother country is not yet poſſeſſed of ſuch a navy as to make her formidable. But does ſhe at leaſt govern her poſſeſſions abroad by the maxims of ſound policy and good order? This is what we ſhall next inquire into.

Examination of the government eſtabliſhed in the French iſlands.

The Britiſh government ever actuated by the national ſpirit, which ſeldom deviates from the true intereſts of the ſtate, has carried into the new world that right of property which is the ground work of her legiſlation. From a conviction, that a man never thinks he fairly poſſeſſes any thing but what he has lawfully acquired,

BOOK IV.

they have, indeed, ſold the lands, but at a very moderate price to ſuch as were willing to clear them. This appeared to them the ſureſt way to haſten on the cultivation of the lands, and to prevent partialities and jealouſies, the neceſſary conſequences of a diſtribution guided by caprice or favour.

Is the right of property reſpected in the French Iſlands?

FRANCE has taken a method ſeemingly more generous, but not ſo prudent, that of granting lands to all who applied for them. No regard was paid to their abilities or circumſtances; the intereſt of their patrons determined the extent of the land they obtained. Indeed, it was ſtipulated, that they ſhould begin their ſettlements within a year after the grant, and not diſcontinue the clearing of the ground, upon pain of forfeiture. But beſides the hardſhip of requiring thoſe men to be at the expence of clearing the land, who could not afford to purchaſe, the penalty fell upon them only, who not having the advantage of family and fortune, could not make intereſt with the great; or upon minors who being left deſtitute by the death of their parents, ought rather to have been aſſiſted by the public; whereas every proprietor who was well recommended or ſupported, was not called to account, though he let his grounds lie fallow.

To this partiality, which evidently retarded the progreſs of the colonies, we may add a number of ill-judged regulations relative to domeſtic life. Firſt, it was required of every perſon who obtained a grant of land, to plant 500 trenches of manioc for every ſlave he had upon his plantation. This order was equally detrimental both to private and public intereſt, as it compelled the planter to encumber his ground with this ordinary production, when it was able to bear richer crops, and rendered the poor grounds, which were only fit for this kind of culture, uſeleſs. This double fault could not but leſſen

leſſen the growth of all kinds of commodities; and indeed this law, which affected the diſpoſal of property, has never been ſtrictly put in execution; but as it has alſo never been repealed, it ſtill remains a ſcourge in the hand of any ignorant, capricious, or paſſionate miniſter, who may chuſe to make uſe of it againſt the inhabitants. This evil, great as it is, is however the leaſt of their grievances. The reſtraint of the Agrarian laws is ſtill increaſed by the burden of the labours impoſed upon the vaſſals.

THERE was a time in Europe, that of the feudal government, when gold and ſilver had little or nothing to do with public or private bargains. The nobles ſerved the ſtate, not with their purſes, but with their perſons; and thoſe of their vaſſals, who were their property by right of conqueſt, paid them a kind of quit-rent or homage, either in the fruits of the earth or in ſo much labour. Theſe cuſtoms, ſo deſtructive to men and lands, tended to perpetuate that barbarity to which they owed their riſe. But at laſt they were dropped gradually, as the authority of kings prevailed in overthrowing the independence and tyranny of the great, by reſtoring freedom to the people. The prince, now become the ſole maſter, aboliſhed, as a magiſtrate, ſome abuſes ariſing from the right of war, which deſtroys every other right. But ſeveral of theſe uſurpations, which time had conſecrated, were ſtill retained. That of the average, or a certain proportion of labour required of the vaſſals, has been kept up in ſome ſtates, where the nobles have loſt all, and the people have not acquired any advantage by it. The liberty of France is at this day infringed by this public bondage, and this injuſtice has been methodized, as if to give it a colour of juſtice. The conſequences of this horrid ſyſtem have been ſtill more ſeverely felt in the colonies. The culture of theſe lands, from the nature of the climate, and of the productions, requiring expedition,

BOOK IV.

cannot eaſily ſpare a number of hands to be ſent a great way off, and employed in public works, which are often uſeleſs, and ſhould never be carried on but by idle hands. If the mother country, with all the various means ſhe can employ, has never yet been able to correct or mitigate the hardſhips of theſe ſervices, ſhe ought to conſider what evils muſt reſult from them beyond the ſeas, where the direction of theſe works is committed to two overſeers, who can neither be directed, cenſured, nor controuled, in the arbitrary exerciſe of abſolute power. But the ~~the~~ burden of theſe ſervices is light, when compared with that of the taxes.

Are the taxes properly levied in the French iſlands?

A TAX may be defined to be a contribution towards public expence, neceſſary for the preſervation of private property. The peaceable enjoyment of lands and revenues, requires a proper force to defend them from invaſion, and a police that ſecures the liberty of improving them. Whatever is paid towards the maintenance of public order, is right and juſt; whatever is levied beyond this, is extortion. Now all the government expences, which the mother country is at for the colonies, are repaid her by the reſtraint laid upon them, to cultivate for her alone,, and in ſuch a manner as is beſt adapted to her wants. This ſubjection is the moſt grievous of all tributes, and ought to exempt them from all other taxes.

ANY one muſt be convinced of this truth, who reflects on the difference of ſituation between the old world and the new. In Europe, ſubſiſtence and home conſumption are the principal object of culture and of manufactures; exportation only carries off the overplus. In the iſlands, the whole is to be exported. There, ſubſiſtence and property are alike precarious.

IN Europe, war only deprives the manufacturer and the huſbandman of their foreign trade; the buſineſs *ſtill* goes

goes on at home. In the iſlands, hoſtilities annihilate every thing, there are no more ſales, no more bargains, no more circulation; the planter hardly recovers his coſts.

In Europe, the owner of a ſmall eſtate, who can afford to lay out but little, improves his land as much in proportion as he that has a wide domain and immenſe treaſures. In the iſlands, the improvement of the ſmalleſt plantation requires a pretty good ſtock to begin with.

In Europe, it is commonly one citizen that is indebted to another: and the ſtate is not impoveriſhed by theſe private debts. Thoſe of the iſlands are of a different nature. Many planters, in order to carry on the labour of clearing their grounds, and to repair the loſſes incurred by the misfortunes of war, which had put a ſtop to their exports, have been obliged to borrow ſuch large ſums, that they may be conſidered rathers as farming the trade, than as proprietors of the plantations.

Whether theſe reflections have not occurred to the French miniſtry, or whether particular circumſtances have obliged them to depart from their plan, certain it is they have added freſh taxes to the obligation already laid on the colonies to draw all their neceſſaries from France, and to ſend thither all their own commodities. Every negro has been taxed. In ſome ſettlements, this poll tax has been confined to the working blacks, in others it was laid on all the ſlaves without diſtinction. Both thoſe arrangements have been oppoſed by the colony aſſembled at St. Domingo: let us now judge of the force of their arguments.

Children, old and infirm men make up about one third of the ſlaves. Far from being uſeful to the planter, ſome of them are only a dead weight, which humanity alone can prompt him to ſupport, while the reſt

BOOK IV.

can afford him but diſtant and uncertain hopes. It is hard to conceive how the treaſury ſhould have thought of taxing an object that is already chargeable to the owner.

THE poll tax upon blacks extends beyond the grave; that is to ſay, it is fixed upon a perſon who exiſts no more. Suppoſe a ſlave dies after the aſſeſſment has been made, the maſter muſt go on paying the tax, though he is already a great loſer by the death of his black, who was a part of his property, and whoſe labour was a part of his income.

EVEN the working ſlaves are not an exact tariff of the appraiſement of a planter's income. With a few negroes, a good ſoil will yield more than a poor one will with a great many. The commodities are not all of the ſame value tho' they are all procured by the labour of thoſe perſons upon whom the tax is equally laid. The changing from one kind of culture to another, which the ground requires, ſuſpends for a while the produce of labour. Droughts, inundations, fires, devouring inſects, often deſtroy the fruits of labour. Suppoſe all things alike, a leſſer number of hands makes in proportion a leſſer quantity of ſugar; either becauſe the whole of the wants muſt be taken into conſideration, or becauſe labour is truly productive only ſo far as it can ſeize the moſt favourable opportunities.

THE poll tax upon blacks becomes a more intolerable grievance ſtill in time of war. A planter who cannot then diſpoſe of his commodities, and muſt run in debt to ſupport himſelf and to keep up his land, is further obliged to pay a tax for ſlaves whoſe labour will hardly be equivalent to their maintenance. Nay he is often conſtrained to ſend them far from his plantation, for the imaginary wants of the colony, to feed them there at his own expence, and to ſee them periſh, whilſt he is

under the cruel neceſſity of replacing them one time or other, if ever he means to retrieve his waſted and ſinking lands.

THE burden of the poll tax lay ſtill heavier upon ſuch of the proprietors as were abſent from the colony, for theſe were condemned to pay the tax treble, which was the more unjuſt, as it was a matter of indifference to France whether her commodities were conſumed at home or in the iſlands. It could not ſurely be her intention to hinder the emigration of the coloniſts. It is only by the mildneſs of the government that citizens can be fixed in a country, not by prohibitions and penalties. Beſides, men who by hazardous labours carried on in a ſultry climate, had contributed to the public proſperity, ought to have been indulged in the liberty of ending their days in the temperate regions of the mother country. Nothing could more effectually rouze the ambition and activity of the numbers of idle people, than to be ſpectators of their fortune, and the ſtate might thus get rid of theſe uſeleſs men to the profit of induſtry and commerce.

NOTHING can be more detrimental to both than this taxing of the blacks, as the neceſſity of ſelling obliges the planter to lower the price of his goods. Selling cheap can never be an advantage, but when it is the reſult of great plenty, and of a very briſk circulation. But a man is ruined if he muſt conſtantly carry on a loſing trade, in order to pay taxes. Trade is deſtroyed by the abſorbing channels of the treaſury, which is always receiving, but never returns any thing.

LASTLY it is a very difficult matter to levy this tax. Every proprietor muſt give in an annual account of the number of his ſlaves. To prevent falſe entries, they muſt be verified by clerks or exciſemen. Every negro that is not entered ſhould be forfeited; which would be a very abſurd practice, becauſe every labouring negro is

BOOK IV.

ſo much ſtock, and by ſeizing him, you diminiſh the culture, and annihilate the very object for which the duty was laid. So it is that in the colonies, where nothing can proſper without a profound tranquillity, a deſtructive war is carried on between the finance and the planter. Law-ſuits are numerous, removals frequent, rigorous meaſures become neceſſary, and the coſts are great and ruinous.

If the negro tax is unjuſt in its extent, unequal in its repartition, and complicate in the mode of levying it; the tax laid upon the commodities that are carried out of the colonies, is nearly as injudicious. The government ventured to do it from a perſuaſion that this duty would fall entirely upon the conſumer and the merchant; but there cannot be a more dangerous error in political oeconomy, than this is.

The act of conſuming does not ſupply money to buy what is conſumed; this muſt be gained by labour; and all labour, if things are traced up to their origin, is in fact paid by the firſt proprietor out of the produce of the earth. This being the caſe, no one article can be always growing dearer, but all the reſt muſt riſe in proportion. In this ſituation, there is no profit to be made upon any of them. If this equilibrium between the articles of commerce be removed, the conſumption of the advanced article will increaſe, and if it decreaſe, the price will fall of courſe, and the dearneſs will have been only tranſient.

The merchant can no more take the duty upon him than the conſumer. He may, indeed, advance it once or twice, but if he cannot make a natural and neceſſary profit upon the commodities ſo taxed, he will ſoon drop that branch of trade. To hope that competition will force him to take the payment of the duty out of his profits,

profits, is to ſuppoſe that his profits were exorbitant, and that the competition which was then inſufficient, will grow briſker when the profits are leſs. If on the other hand, things were as they ought to be, and the profits no more than neceſſary, it is ſuppoſing that the competition will ſubſiſt, though the profits that gave riſe to it ſubſiſt no longer. We muſt admit all theſe abſurdities, or allow that it is the planter in the iſlands who pays the duty, whether it be levied from the firſt, ſecond, or hundredth hand.

FAR from thus burthening the cultivation of the colonies with taxes, it ought to be encouraged by liberalities, ſince by the ſtate of prohibition in which their trade is kept, theſe liberalities, with all the fruits of them, muſt of neceſſity return to the mother-country.

IF the ſituation of a ſtate that is involved by loſſes or miſmanagement, will not admit of liberalities, or eaſing the ſubjects of their burthens, the payment of the taxes in colonies themſelves might, at leaſt, be ſuppreſſed, and the produce of them levied at home. This would be the next beſt ſyſtem that could be purſued, and would be equally agreeable to the two worlds.

NOTHING is ſo pleaſing to an American, as to remove from his ſight every thing that denotes his dependence. Wearied with the importunities of collectors, he abhors a ſtanding tax, and dreads the increaſe of them. He ſeeks in vain for that liberty which he thought to have found at the diſtance of two thouſand leagues from Europe. He ſpurns at a yoke which purſues him through the ſtorms of the ocean. Diſcontented and inwardly repining at the reſtraint he ſtill feels, he thinks with indignation on his native country, which, by the name of mother, calls for his blood inſtead of feeding him. Remove the image of his chains from his ſight; let his riches

BOOK IV.

riches pay their tribute to the mother-country only at landing there, and he will fancy himſelf free and privileged; though at the ſame time by lowering the value of his own commodities, and enhancing the price of thoſe that come from Europe, he, in fact, ultimately bears the load of a tax of which he is ignorant.

NAVIGATORS will alſo find an advantage in paying duty only upon goods that have reached the place of their deſtination in their full value and without any riſque, and will reſtore the capital of their ſtock along with the profits. They will not then have the mortification of having purchaſed of the prince the very hazards of ſhipwreck, and of loſing a cargo for which they had paid duty at embarking. Their ſhips, on the contrary, will bring back in goods the amount of the duty, and the productions being advanced in value about twenty-one per cent. by exportation, the duty will hardly be felt.

LASTLY, the conſumer himſelf will be a gainer by it, becauſe the coloniſt and the merchant cannot benefit by any regulation, of which in time he will not feel the good effects. All the taxes will no ſooner be reduced to a ſingle one, but trade will be clogged with fewer formalities, fewer delays, fewer charges, and conſequently the goods can be afforded at a cheaper rate.

EVEN the ſtate itſelf might find a conſiderable political advantage in this. By this new arrangement, there would be ſuch a thing as a country, in outward appearance exempt from all taxes, and enjoying abſolute franchiſe. Such an event would be the more ſtriking, at a time when the Engliſh colonies groan under the burthen of freſh taxes. The contraſt would aggravate their ſufferings; their murmurs and their boldneſs would know no bounds; they would learn to place ſome confidence in a government which they have hitherto accuſed of being

being tyrannical; and in caſe of a revolt in North-America, that vaſt region would be leſs afraid of putting itſelf under the protection of France.

THIS ſyſtem of moderation, which every thing ſeems to point out as the fitteſt, will be eaſily introduced. All the productions of the iſlands are ſubject, at their entry into the kingdom, to the name of Domaine d'Occident, or weſtern domain, which is fixed at three and a half per cent. with two ſols (A penny.) per livre. Their value, which is the rule for the payment of the duty, is determined in the months of January and July. It is fixed at twenty or five and twenty per cent. below the real courſe. The weſtern office allows beſides a more conſiderable tare than the ſeller in trade does. Add to this duty, that which the commodities pay at the cuſtom-houſes of the colonies, which brings in much the ſame, and thoſe that are paid in the inland parts of the iſlands, and we ſhall have the whole of the revenue which the government draws from the ſettlements in America.

IF this fund was confounded with the other revenues of the ſtate, we might be apprehenſive that it was not applied to its deſtination, which ſhould be ſolely the protection of the iſlands. The unforeſeen exigencies of the royal treaſury would infallibly divert it into another channel. There are ſome moments when the critical ſtate of the diſeaſe will not admit of calculating the inconveniences of the remedy. The moſt urgent neceſſity engroſſes the attention. Nothing then is ſafe from the gripe of arbitrary power, urged by the wants of the preſent moment. The miniſtry takes and continues emptying, in hopes of replacing ſhortly, but theſe hopes are always baffled by freſh wants.

HENCE it appears that it would be highly neceſſary that the cheſt deſtined for the duties on the productions of

BOOK IV.

of the colonies, ſhould be quite ſeparate from the revenues of the kingdom. The monies depoſited there would always be ready to anſwer the demands of thoſe ſettlements. The coloniſt who always has ſtock to ſend over to Europe, would gladly give it for bills of exchange, when he was once aſſured that they would meet with no delays or difficulties. This kind of bank would ſoon create a new tie and freſh correſpondence between the mother-country and the iſlands; the court would be better acquainted with the ſtate of their affairs in theſe diſtant countries, and would recover the credit they have long ſince loſt, but which is of the utmoſt conſequence, eſpecially in time of war. We ſhall now put an end to our diſcuſſions on taxes, and paſs on to what concerns the militia.

Is the militia well regulated in the French iſlands?

THE French iſlands, like thoſe of other nations, had no regular troops at firſt. The adventurers, who had conquered them, took a pride in defending themſelves, and the deſcendents of thoſe intrepid men thought themſelves ſtrong enough to guard their own poſſeſſions. They had nothing, indeed, to do but to repulſe a few veſſels, which came and landed ſome ſailors and ſoldiers, as undiſciplined as themſelves.

THINGS are now, and, indeed, muſt have undergone an alteration. As theſe ſettlements became more conſiderable, it was to be expected that they would ſooner or later be attacked by European fleets and armies, and this made it neceſſary to ſend them other defenders. The event has ſhewn the inſufficiency of a few ſcattered battalions, to make head againſt the land and ſea forces of England. The coloniſts themſelves have been convinced that their own efforts could never prevent a revolution, and fearing that a fruitleſs reſiſtance would only exaſperate the enemy, they were more inclined to capitulate

capitulate than to fight. Having become political calculators they felt themſelves unfit for military operations, and paid their money to be diſcharged from a ſervice, which, though glorious in its principle, had degenerated into a burthenſome ſervitude. The militia was ſuppreſſed in 1764.

THIS act of compliance has been applauded by thoſe who only conſidered this inſtitution as the means of preſerving the colonies from all foreign invaſions. They imagined very judiciouſly that it was unreaſonable to require that men, who were grown old under the hardſhips of a ſcorching climate, in order to raiſe a large fortune, ſhould expoſe themſelves to the ſame dangers as thoſe poor victims of our ambition who are perpetually hazarding their lives for five pence a day. Such a ſacrifice has appeared unnatural, and the miniſtry who gave up ſo vain and burthenſome a defence have been applauded by ſome.

OTHERS, who are better acquainted with the American ſettlements, have not judged ſo favourably of this innovation. The militia, ſay they, is neceſſary to preſerve the interior police of the iſlands, to prevent the revolt of the ſlaves, to check the incurſions of the fugitive negroes, to hinder the banditti from aſſembling in troops, to protect the navigation along the coaſts, and to keep off the corſairs. If the inhabitants are not embodied, if they have neither commanders nor ſtandards, which of them will march to the aſſiſtance of his neighbours? Their is no one to warn him of his danger, no one to command him; and that harmony and uniformity of action, without which nothing is done properly, will totally be interrupted.

THESE reflections, which, though ſtriking and natural, had at firſt eſcaped the court of Verſailles, have quickly

BOOK IV.

quickly made her retract. They reſtored the militia faſter than they had aboliſhed it. As early as the year 1766, the Leeward iſlands ſubmitted to it without any great reſiſtance, though an oppoſition might have been expected from the continuance of the new taxes, when their object no longer ſubſiſted. St. Domingo warmly expoſtulated againſt this abuſe of an authority, which was too haſty and too fickle, not to excite murmurings.

A PHILOSOPHICAL adminiſtrator, who was eye witneſs to the oppoſition which the re-eſtabliſhment of a forced militia met with from the inhabitants of St. Domingo, propoſed to make it voluntary. He made no doubt but that the proſpect of glory or fortune would have induced half the colony, whoſe example would have influenced the other half, to ſolicit as an honour what they abhorred as a yoke. But this expedient, ingenious as it was, and effectual as it would have been, was improper, becauſe it would have affected that uniformity which ought to ſubſiſt between iſlands that are under the ſame government. Such a diſtinction would have laid the foundation of jealouſies and diviſions, which would, ſooner or later, have proved fatal to the colonies, if not to the mother country itſelf.

WITHOUT any of theſe political artifices, the people of St. Domingo have reſumed the military ſervice. Indeed it has been with reluctance, founded upon grievances which cannot be too ſoon redreſſed. It is well-known, that a militia is a great reſtraint upon civil liberty, which they are more jealous of in the colonies than we are in Europe, where we hear of nothing but authority. It expoſes the citizen to numberleſs vexations. The evils it has occaſioned have ſtamped a ſenſe of horror for this kind of ſervitude, which none can

can wonder at but tyrants or ſlaves. The buſineſs is, if poſſible, to eradicate the impreſſions of the paſt, and remove all miſtruſt for the future. The condeſcenſion and moderation of government muſt put an end to the apprehenſions of the colonies, by making all thoſe alterations in the form of the militia, which are conſiſtent with its object, which is to maintain public order and ſafety. The welfare of the people is the great end of all authority. If the actions of the ſovereign do not tend to this point, he will only live upon money and records, ſoon worn out by time, and deſpiſed by poſterity. In vain does flattery raiſe ſuperb and numerous monuments to princes; the hand of man erects them, but it is the heart that conſecrates them, and affection that makes them immortal. Without this, public homage is only a proof of the meanneſs of the people, not of the greatneſs of the ruler. There is one ſtatue in Paris, the ſight of which makes every heart exult with ſentiments of affection. Every eye is turned with complacency towards that image of paternal and popular kindneſs. The ſilent tears of the oppreſſed call upon it, ſecretly bleſs the hero it immortalizes. All voices join to celebrate his memory after two centuries are elapſed. His name is in veneration to the uttermoſt parts of America. In every heart he proteſts againſt the abuſes of authority; declares againſt the uſurpations of the rights of the people; he promiſes the ſubjects the redreſs of their grievances, and an increaſe of proſperity, and demands both of the miniſtry.

It is ſcarce credible, that a law, ſeemingly dictated by nature; a law which occurs inſtantly to every juſt and good man; which leaves no doubt in the mind as to its rectitude and utility; it is ſcarce credible that ſuch a law ſhould ſometimes be prejudicial to the maintenance of our ſocieties, ſtop the progreſs of colonies, divert

Is the regulation of inheritance properly ſettled in the French iſlands?

BOOK IV.

vert them from the end of their deſtination, and gradually pave the way to their ruin. Strange as it may ſeem, this law is no other than the equal diviſion of eſtates among children or co-heirs. This law, ſo conſonant to nature, ſhould be aboliſhed in America.

THIS diviſion was neceſſary at the firſt formation of colonies. Immenſe tracts of lands were to be cleared. This could not be done without people, nor could men who had quitted their own country for want, be any otherwiſe fixed in thoſe diſtant and deſert regions, than by aſſigning them a property. Had the government refuſed to grant them lands, they would have wandered about from place to place, with the diſappointment of beginning numberleſs ſettlements, and bringing none to bear, ſo as to be beneficial to the mother country.

BUT ſince inheritances, too extenſive at firſt, have in proceſs of time been reduced by a ſeries of ſucceſſions, and by the ſub-diviſions of ſhares, to ſuch a compaſs as renders them fit to facilitate cultivation; ſince they have been ſo limited as not to lie fallow for want of hands proportionable to their extent, a further diviſion of lands would bring them again to nothing. In Europe, an obſcure man who has but a few acres of land, will make that little eſtate go farther in proportion, than an opulent man will the immenſe property he is poſſeſſed of, either by inheritance or chance. In America, the nature of the productions, which are very valuable, the uncertainty of the crops, which are but of few kinds, the quantity of ſlaves, of cattle, of utenſils neceſſary for a plantation, all this requires a large ſtock, which they have not in ſome, and will ſoon not have in any colonies, if the lands are parcelled out and divided more and more by hereditaty ſucceſſions.

IF

If a father leaves an eſtate of 30,000 livres (1312*l.* 10*s.*) a year, and this eſtate is equally divided between three children, they will all be ruined if they make three diſtinct plantations; the one, becauſe he has been made to pay dear for the buildings, and becauſe he has too few negroes and too little land in proportion; the other two, becauſe they muſt build before they can begin upon the culture of their land. They will all be equally ruined, if the whole plantation remains in the hands of one of the three. In a country where a creditor is in a worſe ſtate than any other man, eſtates have riſen to an immoderate value. The poſſeſſor of the whole, will be very fortunate if he is obliged to pay no more for intereſt than the net produce of the plantation. Now, as the primary law of our nature is, the procuring of ſubſiſtence, he will begin by living without paying. His debts will accumulate, he will ſoon become inſolvent, and the confuſion conſequent upon ſuch a ſituation, will end in the ruin of the whole family.

The only way to remedy theſe diſorders, is to aboliſh the equality of diviſions. In this enlightened age we ſhould ſee the neceſſity of letting the colonies be more ſtocked with things than with men. The wiſdom of the legiſlature will, doubtleſs, contrive ſome method of providing for thoſe who will be ſtript, and in ſome meaſure ſacrificed to the welfare of the community. They ought to be placed upon freſh lands, and to ſubſiſt by their own labour. This is the only way to maintain this ſort of men, and their induſtry would open a freſh ſource of wealth to the ſtate.

At the concluſion of the peace a favourable opportunity offered itſelf, for making the propoſed alteration in St. Lucia and Guiana. The French ought not to have neglected this opportunity to repeal the law relating to diviſion, by diſtributing to thoſe whoſe expectations they

BOOK IV.

had fruſtrated, ſuch lands as they intended for culture. The immenſe ſums that have been thrown away upon theſe lands to no purpoſe, would have been much better beſtowed in enabling theſe people to clear and cultivate them. Men inured to the climate, acquainted with the only kind of culture that could poſſibly be thought of, encouraged by the example, aſſiſtance, and advice of their own families, and aided by the ſlaves with which government would have ſupplied them, were much fitter for this purpoſe than a ſet of profligate men, collected from the very ſinks of Europe, and much more likely to raiſe the new colonies to that pitch of wealth and proſperity which might be expected. Unfortunately we were not aware, that the firſt colonies in America muſt have increaſed by ſlow degrees and of themſelves, with the loſs of a great many men, or by extraordinary exertions of bravery and patience, becauſe they had no competition to ſupport; but the ſucceeding ſettlements can only be formed in the way of generation, as an old ſwarm begets a new one. The overflowings of population in one iſland muſt ſpread into another, and the ſuperfluities of a rich colony furniſh neceſſaries to an infant ſettlement. This is the natural order which good policy points out to maritime and commercial powers. All other methods are irrational and deſtructive. Though the court of Verſailles has overlooked this plain principle, productive of ſo much good, that is no reaſon why they ſhould reject the propoſal of putting a ſtop to the farther diviſion of lands. If the neceſſity of ſuch a law is evident, it muſt be enacted, though the preſent period be leſs favourable than that which hath been neglected. When the decay of the plantations is repaired, by ſuppreſſing that parcelling of lands which cuts off all the ſprings of increaſe, we

may

may then compel them to clear themſelves of the debts with which they are now oppreſſed.

Has the payment of debts contracted in the French iſlands been judiciouſly provided for?

THE French iſlands, like all others in America, can only be cultivated by blacks. Their climate lays them under a neceſſity of purchaſing labourers. To procure them, they muſt have capitals, and the firſt inhabitants had none. They raiſed them by trade, which therefore gave theſe valuable ſettlements their firſt exiſtence. This kind of aſſiſtance, which, perhaps, has been ſince too eaſily granted, has involved them in debts, which have increaſed as they have proceeded in clearing a greater extent of land.

THE equality of partition between the ſeveral heirs, has raiſed up creditors within the colonies, as there were already without. As the colonies grew richer, their credit increaſed in proportion to the multiplicity of diviſions. When the population increaſed to ſuch a degree that the number of coloniſts exceeded that of plantations, the ſuperfluous numbers then remaining unemployed became creditors to eſtates they did not occupy, and were therefore not only uſeleſs but even burthenſome to cultivation. We have juſt pointed out a way to prevent the neceſſity of this credit within the iſlands; but in what manner ſhall the debts contracted abroad be diſcharged?

WE are told that the planters ſhould ſpend but a part of their income, and reſerve the reſt for the fulfilling of their engagements. But it is not conſidered that thoſe who could afford to make theſe ſavings, are juſt the very people that owe nothing; whereas the debtors have ſuch a ſcanty income, that they cannot poſſibly ſave any thing. Beſides, nothing would be more unreaſonable than to introduce this ſyſtem of oeconomy into the colonies. As the value of their produce is entirely owing to exchange, and that in this caſe the ex-

change would be in a manner annihilated, becauſe it would be confined to cheap articles of mere neceſſity; the Americans would either be obliged to raiſe but few of their own commodities, or to give them for nothing. Should the mother country be willing to make up in money the deficiencies in the ſale of their merchandiſe, then all the gold that is drawn from one part of America would return to the other. There is a power, known by the ſuperiority of its naval force, which, after ten years of ſuch a trade, would be ſure of finding in theſe iſlands a compenſation for any war it might undertake; and it would be highly impolitic for France to invite that power to attack her ſettlements abroad.

TRADERS are no leſs intereſted than the government in the perpetuity of debts. The colonies were firſt eſtabliſhed upon credit. When the firſt cultivators had cleared themſelves, the loan has been renewed to their ſucceſſors; and the preſent poſſeſſors ſtill enjoy the ſame benefit. If they were compelled to pay off this loan, it might ſoon be done, but culture would ſuffer by it; and though it might not, poſſibly, degenerate, yet it would nevertheleſs be deprived of the firſt fruits of virgin lands, which are always moſt fertile. Traders would then find fewer commodities to buy in the iſlands; they would have no demand for ſlaves, utenſils, and all other articles neceſſary for new ſettlements, and which are almoſt as conſiderable as thoſe which are requiſite for the wants or luxury of the ſettled plantations. In proceſs of time their tranſactions would be ſtill more reduced. It is well known how reluctantly they ſee the rich planter accuſtom himſelf to ſend his own productions to Europe, to fetch his own conſumption from thence, and reduce his agents to the bare profits of commiſſion. If that dependence, which is a neceſſary conſequence

ſequence of debts, ſhould ceaſe, it would no longer be a few planters, but the whole colony, that would make their own purchaſes and ſales in the mother-country: they would all become traders, and even would ſoon have no competitors, becauſe they alone would be acquainted with the meaſure of their own wants.

CREDIT therefore is evidently the baſis of all uſeful connections between the merchants of France and her colonies; and to reſtore their ſtock, would be in effect to deprive them of their profits. Unreaſonably have they complained for theſe forty years paſt, that they are abſolutely ruined by the delays they experience in the payments; the fortunes that have been made in the ports of France by their intercourſe with the iſlands, are a proof of the injuſtice of theſe complaints.

HOWEVER, political utility, or even the neceſſity of the colony's being in debt to the mother country, can by no means cancel the obligation every private man is under to fulfil his engagements. Though evil may be the effect, frequently even the cauſe of good, yet the man who commits it cannot on that account be juſtified or excuſed. It is a matter of indifference, whether a certain maſs of wealth is in ſuch or ſuch hands; but it can never be conducive to the public welfare that any man ſhould think himſelf at liberty not to pay his debts. The treaſury itſelf, if it is under any engagements, muſt clear itſelf by the means and rules of juſtice. A public bankruptcy of the ſtate is a ſcandalous thing, ſtill more prejudicial to the morals of ſociety than to the fortunes of individuals. A time will come, when all theſe iniquities ſhall be ſummoned before the tribunal of nations, and that the power which has committed them ſhall be judged by its victims. The debts of America, therefore, ought to be paid, but it muſt be done imperceptibly, and not by ſudden or violent meaſures. Whilſt

BOOK IV.

the old debts are paying off, new ones will be contracted, which will perpetuate as it were that chain of dependence that links the fortunes of Europe with thoſe of the colonies. It is by judicial means that the creditors of the trade of the iſlands are to be ſatisfied. True juſtice is ever uniform in itſelf; its favours and puniſhments are equally ſhewn to all. If the execution of it is committed to the arbitrary will of thoſe who govern, as it has hitherto been in the colonies, it neceſſarily degenerates into tyranny. It is oftentimes a hardſhip upon debtors, who are compelled to fail in the moſt ſacred engagements, in order to fulfil the moſt trifling, and to ſacrifice part of their ſtock, by ſales made at an improper ſeaſon, and without any of the proper forms. It is often unjuſt for the creditors themſelves. It is neither the oldeſt, nor he that has moſt right, nor yet he that wants it moſt, who is firſt paid: it is the moſt powerful, the beſt patronized, the moſt active, the moſt violent; whereas the law only ought to decide.

THAT law which, in the colonies, allows of the actual ſeizure of the plantations, is impracticable. A proof of it, is, that no man has ever yet had recourſe to it, though there have always been diſhoneſt debtors in the iſlands, and clamorous creditors, who would not have neglected this mode of recovery if it could have been purſued with ſucceſs.

THE method of perſonal ſeizure, which ſome have propoſed to ſubſtitute to the ſeizure of goods and chattels, would not be more effectual. It would be no eaſy matter to arreſt a planter ſurrounded with a multitude of ſlaves, upon a plantation ſtanding by itſelf. His impriſonment would prove as ruinous to his creditors as to himſelf. His negroes would grow riotous in his abſence; they would do no work, but would go and plunder the neigh-

neighbouring plantations. But might not the negroes of a debtor be ſeized and ſold? Then the ſlaves who ſhould ceaſe to work upon one plantation would be employed upon another, and the colony be no loſer.

THIS expedient is only a ſpecious one, and we muſt know but little of the character of the negroes, to truſt to it. They are a kind of machines, not eaſily wound up, and not to be removed with ſafety to a freſh manufacture. A change of place, of maſter, of method, of employment, requires the contracting of freſh habits, and ſuch an exertion as theſe miſerable creatures are hardly capable of, who are already miſerable under the neceſſity of hard labour, which ill ſuits their voluptuous diſpoſition. They cannot live without their miſtreſſes and their children, which are their deareſt comforts, and the only thing that makes them endure life. Separated from this only ſolace to their woes, they pine away and ſicken, and frequently deſert, or at leaſt they work but with reluctance and careleſſneſs.

BESIDES it would be no eaſy matter to ſeize upon thoſe blacks. Fifty, a hundred, or two hundred ſlaves would not tamely ſuffer themſelves to be thrown in chains by a few bailiffs; and they would ſoon diſperſe, if any attempt ſhould be made to enter the plantation by force. If one ſhould endeavour to ſeize them in the towns where they go to ſell their goods, they would ſoon keep away, and a ſcarcity of proviſions would be the conſequence of almoſt univerſal deſertion.

SUPPOSE all theſe difficulties could be removed, this expedient would ſtill be improper, becauſe in ſecuring the payment of one creditor, it would ruin many others. The ſmalleſt ſugar plantations employ ſixty or ſeventy ſlaves upon the beſt lands, and fourſcore or a hundred where the ground is but indifferent. The number can-

BOOK IV.

not be leſſened without putting a ſtop to the tillage. The ſeizing of fifteen or twelve blacks, is enough to ruin a plantation, and to deſtroy an important culture, to make a capital of fifty or a hundred thouſand crowns (from about 7000*l.* to upwards of 13,000*l.*) lie dead, and a ſkillful planter quite inſolvent. It will be ſaid, perhaps, that the owner being forced to ſell, the purchaſer would reinſtate the plantation; but it is well known that there are no ſuch monied men on the iſlands as to pay ready money; that all purchaſes are made upon a very long credit, and even with a tacit expectation of obtaining further delays. Take away this credit, and there will not be a ſingle purchaſer to be found.

No planters ſurely would be ſo raſh as to venture upon a conſiderable undertaking, with a proſpect of certain ruin, in caſe fortune and the elements ſhould not favour his endeavours, ſo as to make good his engagements to a day. The dread of want and infamy will become general, and then there will be no more borrowing, no more buſineſs, no more circulation, no more activity. Credit will be deſtroyed by the very ſyſtem that was meant to reſtore it. Theſe are no imaginary fears; they are but too well juſtified by the deplorable events of the year 1750. At that memorable and unfortunate period for St. Domingo, a permiſſion was extorted from the government to ſeize the negroes for the planter's debts. The firſt execution of this kind, though unſucceſsful, ſpread terror and conſternation throughout the colony. The confuſion was inconceivable, and all was tending to ruin. The merchants who had ſollicited this odious law, thought themſelves very happy that they could obtain the repeal of it.

No expedient therefore has been found out for the ſecurity of creditors, but what is prejudicial to the proſperity

rity of the colonies, and conſequently to that of the monarchy. Yet the ſecret ſprings of politics muſt certainly afford ſome means to reconcile the intereſts of individuals with thoſe of the public, and it is the buſineſs of ſtateſmen to find them out. This law of equity will be approved, even by thoſe who are ſufferers from it, if it is introduced by reaſonable methods, the only ones, perhaps, that ſhould be employed with civilized men, at leaſt the eaſieſt and the ſafeſt. A planter acquainted with the courſe of public buſineſs, will be ſenſible that the facility of not paying becomes burthenſome to him from the impoſſibility of finding credit, but upon ſuch terms as will balance the riſque of lending. Whether he ſeeks it to increaſe or to preſerve his ſtock, he will obtain none but to his ruin. His ſituation is the ſame as that of minors, who can never borrow but upon hard terms of uſurers accuſtomed to indemnify themſelves beforehand for the delays and for the hazards they run.

But if the planter is not to be brought to a ſenſe of his duty by motives of intereſt; if it is dangerous to have recourſe to compulſive methods, why ſhould not the legiſlature try what may be done upon the principle of honour, which is a moſt powerful motive in monarchies, as it is the ground-work and ſpring of their conſtitution. Is not opinion as coercive as force? Stamp but a mark of infamy upon the fraudulent debtor, declare that he has forfeited all the diſtinctions he enjoyed, render him incapable of ever exerciſing any public function, and we need not apprehend that he will ſport with a law of this ſort. But then the tribunals of juſtice muſt in this reſpect be thoſe of honour. Let the defaulter be tried and condemned with the ſeveral forms which make all other laws ſacred. The moſt rapacious of men, and eſpecially the American planters, ſacrifice a

part

BOOK IV.

part of their lives to hard labour, with no other view, than to enjoy their fortune. But there is no enjoyment for a man who is branded with infamy. Obſerve only how punctually all debts of honour are paid. It is not an exceſs of delicacy, it is not the love of juſtice, that brings back the ruined gameſter within four and twenty hours to the feet of his creditor, who, perhaps, is no better than a ſharper. It is the ſenſe of honour; it is the dread of being excluded from ſociety. The moſt intereſted man aims at enjoyment, and none can be obtained without honour.

But in what age, at what period, do we here invoke the ſacred name of honour? Should not the government ſet the example of that juſtice, the practice of which it means to inculcate? Is it poſſible that public opinion ſhould diſgrace individuals for actions which the ſtate openly commits? When infamy has crept into families, into great houſes, into the higheſt places, even into the camp and the ſanctuary; can there be any ſenſe of ſhame remaining? What man will henceforth be jealous of his honour, while thoſe who are called men of honour, know of no other than that of being rich to get places, or of getting places to grow rich; when a man muſt cringe in order to riſe; pleaſe the great and the women to ſerve the ſtate; and when the gifts of pleaſing imply at leaſt an indifference for every virtue? Shall honour, which ſeems to be baniſhed from ſome parts of Europe, go and take refuge in America? Why ſhould this be deſpaired of, before it has been tried? If the experiment ſhould not anſwer, the debtors who ſhould refuſe to pay their debts, ſhould be treated in the French iſlands, as they are in thoſe that are ſubject to England and Holland. The three nations have alike concentrated the connections of their American ſettlements in the mother country.

All

Has the mother-country, in compelling the iſlands to deliver their produce only to herſelf, ſufficiently ſecured the exportation of them?

All the colonies have not had the ſame origin. Some took their riſe from the reſtleſs ſpirit of ſome tribes of barbarians, who having long wandered through deſert countries, fixed at laſt, from mere wearineſs, in any country where they might form a nation. Other people driven out of their own territory by ſome powerful enemy, or allured by chance to a better climate than their own, have removed thither, and ſhared the lands with the natives. An exceſs of population, an abhorrence for tyranny, factions and revolutions have induced other citizens to quit their native country, and to go and build new cities in foreign climes. The ſpirit of conqueſt made ſome ſoldiers ſettle in the countries they had ſubdued, to ſecure the property of them to themſelves. None of theſe colonies were firſt formed with a view to trade. Even thoſe that were founded by Tyre, Carthage, and Marſeilles, which were all commercial republics, were only meant for neceſſary retreats upon barbarous coaſts, and for marts, where ſhips that were come from different ports, and tired with a long voyage, reciprocally made their exchanges.

The conqueſt of America gave the Europeans the firſt idea of a new kind of ſettlement, the baſis of which is agriculture. The governments that formed thoſe colonies, choſe that ſuch of their ſubjects as they ſent thither ſhould not have it in their power to conſume any thing but what they drew from the mother country, or to ſell the produce of their lands but to the mother country. This double obligation has appeared to all nations to be conſonant to the law of nature, independent of all conventions, and ſelf-evident. They have not looked upon an excluſive intercourſe with their own colonies as an immoderate compenſation for the expences of ſettling and preſerving them. This has conſtantly

BOOK IV.

ſtantly been the ſyſtem of Europe relative to America.

FRANCE had never yet departed from it; when a man of genius, noted for the extent of his ideas, and the energy of his expreſſions, attempted to mitigate the ſeverity of this principle. He alledged that to allow the importation of ſuch foreign goods as cannot eaſily be had from France, and at an extravagant price, was increaſing a proſperity in the colonies, which muſt ſooner or later flow back to the original country, to which they will ſend more commodities, and afford a briſker ſale for their own produce. This opinion ſpread a univerſal alarm in all the ports of the kingdom. They exclaimed that this competition was an infringement of the moſt ſacred rights of the ſtate, and would dry up the principal ſources of its wealth.

THIS circumſtance has been the ſubject of much altercation; but it has not been conſidered in its moſt important light. The diſputants, and the public by whom they were judged, only attending to the intereſts of culture and commerce, loſt ſight of the grand political object, which is the preſervation of the colonies. The truth is, that we ſhould run the riſque of loſing them, if foreign ſhips were admitted into their harbours.

ABOVE a century ago, England laid the foundations of an immenſe empire in the vaſt wilds of North-America, which went on but ſlowly at firſt, but now makes a daily rapid progreſs. Its power, long curbed by an enemy ever upon the watch, and ever ready to attack its back ſettlements, has nothing now that can reſtrain it, ſince the acquiſition of Canada and of the moſt valuable part of Louiſiana. This people, delivered by theſe conqueſts from all uneaſineſs on the ſide of the continent, may one time or other be tempted to turn their ambi-

tious

tious view towards the neighbouring iſlands. Even now, they want nothing to purſue the ſtream of their proſperities, but a population adequate to the extent of their territory. Amongſt the cauſes which may promote this population, none would be more likely to haſten it, than a ſtanding intercourſe with the French colonies, which being in want of the very articles that North-America affords, would, by purchaſing their productions, enable them to raiſe more, and to augment their ſtrength. No doubt the court of Verſailles is too well informed to ſacrifice the ſafety of the iſlands to the acceſſary advantage that might accrue from a free trade for a few trifling objects.

But if on the other hand it is incumbent on us to cut off from our rivals this road to wealth, and of courſe to conqueſt, on the other hand it is neceſſary to take care that our iſlanders ſhall never want a market to diſpoſe of all their commodities. The coloniſts can ſpare us yearly, beſides what they keep for their own conſumption, a hundred thouſand caſks of molaſſes and rum, worth about five millions of livres. (218,750*l*.) By an ill-judged ſelfiſhneſs, we have deprived them and ourſelves of this benefit, for fear of hurting the ſale of our own brandies. The ſpirits drawn from ſugar, always inferior to thoſe extracted from wine, can only be for the uſe of poor nations, or of the lower ſort in the rich ones. They will never be preferred to any but malt ſpirits, and theſe are not diſtilled in France. There will always be a demand for ours, even in the iſlands, for the uſe of that claſs of men who can afford to pay for them. The government, therefore, can never too ſoon retract ſo unjuſt and ſo fatal an error, and ought to admit molaſſes and rum into our ports, to be conſumed there, or wherever elſe they may be wanted. Nothing would more extend their conſumption than to authorize

French

BOOK IV.

French navigators to carry them directly to the foreign markets. This favour ought even to be extended to the whole produce of the colonies. As an opinion that claſhes with ſo many intereſts and ſo many prejudices, may chance to be conteſted, it will be proper to unfold its principles.

THE French iſlands furniſh the mother country with ſugars, coffee, cotton, indigo, and other commodities, that are partly conſumed at home, and partly diſpoſed of in foreign countries, which ſend us in exchange either money, or other articles we are in want of. Theſe ſame iſlands receive in return from the mother country clothaths, proviſions, and inſtruments of huſbandry. Such is the twofold deſtination of the colonies. In order to fulfill it, they muſt be rich. In order to be rich, they muſt grow large crops, and be able to diſpoſe of them at the beſt price: and that they may fetch the beſt price, the ſale of them muſt be as briſk as poſſible. To obtain this, it muſt be made entirely free. In order to make it as free as poſſible, it muſt be clogged with no formalities, no expences, no labours, no needleſs incumbrances. Theſe truths, demonſtrated by their cloſe connection with each other, muſt determine whether it is advantageous that the trade of the colonies ſhould be ſubjected to the delays and expences of a ſtaple in France.

THESE intermediate expences muſt neceſſarily fall, either upon the conſumer or upon the planter. If upon the former, he will conſume leſs, becauſe his means do not increaſe in proportion to his expences; if upon the latter, as his produce brings in leſs, he will be leſs able to make the neceſſary advances for the next crop, and of courſe his lands will yield leſs. The evident progreſs of theſe deſtructive conſequences is ſo little attended to, that every day we hear people confidently ſay, that merchandiſe,

chandiſe, before it is conſumed, muſt paſs through many hands, and undergo many charges, both for handicraft and carriage, and that as theſe charges employ and maintain a number of perſons, they are conducive to the population and ſtrength of a ſtate. Men are ſo blinded by prejudice, as not to ſee that if it is advantageous that commodities, before they are conſumed, ſhould undergo a twofold expence; this advantage will ſtill be increaſed, to the greater emolument of the nation, if this expence ſhould amount to four, eight, twelve, or thirty times more. Then, indeed, all nations might break up their highways, fill up their canals, prohibit the navigation of their rivers; they might even exclude animals from the labours of the field, and employ none but men in theſe works, in order to add to the expences that precede the conſumption of the produce. Yet ſuch are the abſurdities we muſt maintain, if we admit the falſe principle we are now oppoſing; but political truths muſt be long canvaſſed before they are felt. Many errors have been introduced among ſtateſmen, as well as among the bulk of the people, without examination. The French miniſtry, long blinded by that darkneſs in which they ſuffered their nation to remain, had not yet acquired a ſufficient degree of knowledge to diſcover what kind of adminiſtration was fitteſt for the colonies; and they are ſtill equally ignorant of the form of government beſt calculated to make them proſper.

Is the authority in the French iſlands conſigned to thoſe hands that are moſt proper to make them flouriſh?

THE French colonies, ſettled by profligate men, who fled from the reſtraints or puniſhment of the law, ſeemed at firſt to ſtand in need of nothing but a ſtrict police; they were therefore committed to chiefs who had an unlimited authority. The ſpirit of intrigue, natural to all courts, but more eſpecially familiar to a nation where gallantry gives the women a univerſal aſcendent, has at all

BOOK IV.

all times filled the higher poſts in America with worthleſs men, loaded with debts and vices. The miniſtry, from ſome conſciouſneſs of ſhame, and the fear of raiſing them where their diſgrace was known, have ſent them beyond ſea, to improve or retrieve their fortunes, among people who were ignorant of their miſconduct. An ill-judged compaſſion, and that falſe court maxim, that villainy is neceſſary, and villains are uſeful, made them coolly ſacrifice the peace of the planters, the ſafety of the colonies, and the very intereſts of the ſtate, to a ſet of wretches only fit to be impriſoned. Theſe rapacious and diſſolute men ſtifled the ſeeds of all that was good and laudable, and checked the progreſs of that proſperity which was riſing ſpontaneouſly.

ARBITRARY power carries along with it ſo ſubtle a poiſon, that even thoſe men who went over with honeſt intentions, were ſoon corrupted. If ambition, avarice and pride had not begun to ſpoil them, they would not have been proof againſt flattery, which never fails to raiſe its meanneſs upon general ſlavery, and to advance its own fortune by public calamity.

THE few governors who eſcaped corruption, meeting with no ſupport in an unlimited adminiſtration, were continually falling from one miſtake into another. They are not men, but the laws, that are to govern men. If the rulers are deprived of this common rule, this ſtandard of their judgments, all right, all ſafety, and all civil liberty will be extinct. Nothing will then be ſeen but contradictory deciſions, tranſient and oppoſite regulations, and orders, which for want of fundamental maxims will have no connection with each other. If the code of laws was cancelled, even in the beſt conſtituted empire, it would ſoon appear that uprightneſs alone was not ſufficient to govern it well. The wiſeſt men would be inade-

quate

quate to ſuch a taſk. As they would not all be of the ſame mind, and as each of them would not always be in the ſame diſpoſition, the ſtate would ſoon be overturned. This kind of confuſion was perpetual in the French colonies, and the more ſo, as the governors made but a ſhort ſtay in one place, and were recalled before they had time to make any arrangements. After they had proceeded without a guide for three years in a new country, and upon unformed plans of police and laws, theſe rulers were replaced by others, who in as ſhort a ſpace, had not time to form any connection with the people they were to govern, nor to ripen their projects into that juſtice which, when tempered with mildneſs, can alone ſecure the execution of them. This want of experience, and of precedents, ſo much intimidated one of theſe abſolute magiſtrates, that out of delicacy, he would not venture to decide upon the common occurrences. Not but that he was aware of the inconveniences of his irreſolution, but, though an able man, he did not think himſelf qualified to be a legiſlator, and therefore did not chuſe to uſurp the authority of one. BOOK IV.

YET theſe diſorders might eaſily have been prevented, by ſubſtituting an equitable legiſlation, firm, and independent of private will, to a military government, violent in itſelf, and fit only for critical and perilous times. But this ſcheme, which has often been propoſed, was diſliked by the governors jealous of abſolute power, which, formidable in itſelf, is always odious in a ſubject. Theſe ſlaves, eſcaped from the ſecret tyranny of the court, were remarkably attached to that form of juſtice which prevails in Aſiatic governments, by which they kept even their own dependents in awe. The reformation was rejected even by ſome virtuous governors, who did not conſider, that by reſerving to themſelves the right of doing good, they left it in the power of their ſucceſſ-

BOOK IV.

ors to do ill with impunity. All declared loudly againſt a plan of legiſlation that tended to leſſen the dependence of the people; and the court was weak enough to give way to their inſinuation and advice, from a propenſity to arbitrary power natural to princes and their miniſters. They thought they provided ſufficiently for their colonies by giving them an intendant to balance the power of the governor.

THESE diſtant ſettlements, which till then had groaned under the yoke of one proprietor only, now became a prey to two, equally dangerous by their diviſion and their union. When they were at variance they divided the minds of the people, ſowed diſcord among their adherents, and kindled a kind of civil war. The rumour of their diſſentions was at length brought to Europe, where each party had its protectors, who were animated by pride or intereſt to ſupport them in their places. When they agreed, either becauſe their good or bad intentions happened to be the ſame, or becauſe the one had got an entire aſcendent over the other, the coloniſts were in a worſe condition than ever. Whatever oppreſſion theſe victims laboured under, their cries were never heard in the mother country, who looked upon the harmony that ſubſiſted between their delegates, as the moſt certain proof of a faultleſs adminiſtration.

THE fate of the French colonies is not much improved. Their governors, beſides having the diſpoſal of the regular troops, have a right to inliſt the inhabitants, to order them to what works they think proper, to employ them as they pleaſe in time of war, and even to make uſe of them for conqueſt. Intruſted with abſolute authority, and deſirous of exerting all the powers that can eſtabliſh or extend it, they take upon themſelves the cognizance of civil debts. The debtor is ſummoned,

ed, thrown into prison or into a dungeon, and compelled to pay without any other form; and this is what they call the service or the military department. The intendants have the sole management and disposal of the finances, and generally order the collecting of them. They inquire into all causes, both civil and criminal, whether justice has not yet taken cognizance of them, or whether they have already been brought before the superior tribunals; and this is what they call administration. The governors and intendants jointly grant the lands that have not yet been given away, and judge of all differences that arise respecting old possessions. This arrangement puts the fortunes of all the colonists into their hands, or into those of their clerks and dependents, and consequently makes all property precarious, and occasions the utmost confusion.

In mechanics, the further the resisting powers are removed from the center, the more the moving force must be increased; in like manner, we are told, the colonies can not be secured any other way than by a harsh and absolute government. If so, Sir William Petty was in the right to disapprove of these sort of settlements. The earth had better remain unpeopled, or thinly inhabited, than that some powers should be extended to the misfortune of the people. It is incumbent upon France to oppose this system of an Englishman against colonies, by improving more and more in the method of governing them. That enlightened spirit which distinguishes the present age, and which still supports and guides us, will one day restore the government to a sense of its true interests. We shall be made sensible that there has been no justice in our colonies, because they had no fixed laws, the maintenance of which was intrusted to proper tribunals. If this set of men, always

BOOK IV.

enslaved, always oppressed, have not hitherto been thought to deserve this mark of our confidence, let us make them worthy of it by granting it. Their souls will be inflamed with the sacred enthusiasm of public spirit, when once they can devote themselves to it without fear or anxiety. This truly patriotic zeal will kindle of itself, if these judicial bodies are composed of magistrates born in the colonies.

NOTHING appears to be more consonant to the ends of sound policy, than to allow these islanders the right of governing themselves, provided it be in subordination to the mother country; nearly in the same manner as a boat follows all the directions of the ship it is fastened to. It will, perhaps, be objected, that the people in those remote islands, being continually renewed by the fluctuation of commerce, this will naturally bring in a number of worthless men; and that it will be long before we can expect to see those manners and that legality among them, which will be productive of public spirit, and of that dignity which is requisite to support the weight of business and the interests of a nation. This objection might have some foundation if we attended merely to the character of those Europeans who are driven to America by their wants or their vices; who by thus transporting themselves either by choice or from other motives, are strangers every where; commonly corrupted by the want of laws, ill supplied by an arbitrary police; by that depraved taste for dominion, which results from the abuse of slavery; and by the dazzling lustre of a great fortune, which makes them forget their former obscurity. But this class of men ought to have no share in the administration, which should be wholly committed to proprietors, mostly born in the colonies; for justice is the natural consequence of property, and none are more interested in the good govern-

government of a country, than thoſe who are entitled by their birth to the largeſt poſſeſſions in it. Theſe creoles, who have naturally a great ſhare of penetration, a frankneſs of temper, an elevation of ſoul, and a certain love of juſtice that ariſes from theſe noble diſpoſitions, would be ſo ſenſible to the marks of eſteem and confidence which would be ſhewn them by the mother country by intruſting them with the interior management of their own, that they would grow fond of that fertile ſoil, take a pride in decorating it, and be happy in introducing all the comforts of a civilized ſociety. Inſtead of that antipathy to France, which is a reflection upon her miniſters, and upbraids them with their harſhneſs, we ſhould ſee in the colonies that attachment which paternal kindneſs always inſpires to children. Inſtead of that ſecret eagerneſs with which, in time of war, they run to meet a foreign yoke, we ſhould ſee them uniting their efforts to prevent or repulſe an invaſion. Fear will reſtrain men under the immediate eye of a powerful and terrible maſter, but affection alone can command them at a diſtance. This is, perhaps, the only ſpring that acts upon the frontier provinces of an extenſive kingdom, whilſt the indolent and rapacious inhabitants of the metropolis are kept in awe by authority. Attachment to the ſovereign is a principle which cannot be too much encouraged, or too much extended; but if it is neither merited nor returned, he will not enjoy it long. Then there will be no more joy in our public feſtivals, no tranſports in our rejoicings, no involuntary acclamations at the ſight of the beloved idol. Curioſity will bring a throng wherever there is a ſhow; but contentment will not appear in any countenance. A ſullen diſcontent will ariſe, and ſpread from one province to another, and from the mother country to the colonies. When all our fortunes are injured or threaten-

BOOK IV.

ed at once, the alarm and the commotion becomes general. Repeated ſtrokes of authority, hurried on by the hand that ventures to exert them, wound every heart, and fall ſucceſſively upon all bodies of men. The avengers of crimes, and ſupporters of the rights of the coloniſts, are brought up even from America, and confined like malefactors in the priſons of Europe. Our arms, which ſeemed to be blunted before the enemy, are ſharpened againſt theſe valuable ſubjects of the ſtate. Even thoſe who were not able to defend them during the war, are employed to ſpread terror among them in time of peace. Is it thus that colonies are preſerved, and their proſperity promoted? Rome learnt of her enemies how to conquer the old world; let France now learn of her rival how to people and cultivate the new.

END OF THE FOURTH BOOK.

BOOK

BOOK V.

Settlement of the Engliſh in the American iſlands.

ENGLAND was not in a very brilliant ſituation when her ſettlements in America were firſt begun 1625. Her agriculture produced neither flax nor hemp. The attempts they had made to raiſe mulberry trees and breed ſilkworms had been unſucceſsful. The labours of the field were wholly turned to the growing of corn, which, notwithſtanding the turn of the nation for huſbandry, was ſeldom ſufficient for home conſumption, and many of their granaries were ſtored from the fields bordering on the Baltic. BOOK V. The ſtate of England when ſhe began to form ſettlements in the American iſlands.

WORKMANSHIP was ſtill leſs advanced than agriculture. It was confined to woollen manufactures. Theſe had been increaſed ſince the exportation of unwrought wool had been prohibited, but theſe iſlanders, who ſeemed to work only for themſelves, did not know how to ſet off their ſtuffs with that taſte and elegance that was neceſſary to make them ſaleable. They ſent their cloths over to Holland, where the Dutch gave them their laſt colouring and gloſs; from whence they circulated all over Europe, and ſometimes returned to England.

BOOK V.

NAVIGATION hardly employed at that time ten thouſand ſailors. Theſe were in the ſervice of excluſive companies, which had engroſſed every branch of trade, not excepting that of cloth, which alone conſtituted a tenth part of the commercial wealth of the nation. The woollen-drapery trade therefore was centered in the hands of three or four hundred perſons, who agreed, for their own advantage, to fix the price of goods, both at going out and coming into the kingdom. The privileges of theſe monopolizers was exerciſed in the capital, where the court ſold the provinces. London alone had ſix times as many ſhips as all the other ports in the kingdom put together.

THE public revenue neither was nor could be very conſiderable. It was farmed out; a ruinous method, which has always been practiſed in commonwealths, but only continued under arbitrary governments. The expences were proportionable to the low ſtate of the treaſury. The fleet was ſmall, and the ſhips ſo weak, that in time of need, the merchantmen were turned into men of war. A hundred and ſixty thouſand militia, which was the whole military force of the nation, were armed in time of war. There were no ſtanding forces in time of peace, and the king himſelf had no guards.

WITH ſuch confined powers at home, the nation ſhould not have ventured to extend itſelf in ſettlements abroad. Notwithſtanding this, ſome colonies were eſtabliſhed which laid a ſolid foundation of proſperity. The origin of theſe ſettlements was owing to certain events, the cauſes of which may be traced very far back.

Cauſes which haſtened the population of the Britiſhiſlands.

WHOEVER is acquainted with the riſe and progreſs of the Engliſh government, knows that the regal authority was long balanced by a few extenſive proprietors of land called Barons. They perpetually oppreſſed

the

the people, who generally were become mean and contemptible by ſlavery. They were conſtantly at variance with the crown, with more or leſs ſucceſs, according to the character of the leading men, and the chance of circumſtances. Theſe political quarrels occaſioned much bloodſhed.

THE kingdom was exhauſted by inteſtine wars, which had laſted two hundred years, when Henry VII. took up the reins of government on the deciſion of a battle, in which the nation, divided into two camps, had fought to give themſelves a maſter. That ſkilful prince took advantage of the depreſſion into which a ſeries of calamities had ſunk his ſubjects, to extend the regal authority, the limits of which, the anarchy of feudal government though continually encroaching upon them, had never been able to fix. He was aſſiſted in this undertaking, by the faction which had placed the crown upon his head, and which, being the weakeſt, could not hope to maintain themſelves in the principal employments he had raiſed them to, but by ſupporting the ambition of their leader. This plan was ſtrengthened by permitting the nobility for the firſt time to alienate their lands. This dangerous favour, joined to a taſte for luxury which then began to prevail in Europe, brought on a great revolution in the fortunes of individuals. The immenſe fiefs of the barons were gradually ſquandered away, and the eſtates of the commoners increaſed.

THE rights belonging to the ſeveral eſtates being divided with the property of the lands, it was ſo much the more difficult to unite the will and the power of many, againſt the authority of one. The monarchs took advantage of this period, ſo favourable to their ambition, to govern without controul. The decayed nobility were in fear of a power which they had reinforced with all their

BOOK V.

their loſſes. The commons thought themſelves ſufficiently honoured by the privilege of impoſing all the national taxes. The people, in ſome degree eaſed of their yoke by this ſlight alteration in the conſtitution, and whoſe circle of ideas is always confined to buſineſs or labour, became tired of ſeditions, from the deſolation and miſeries which were the conſequence and the puniſhment of them. So that when the nation were looking out for that abſolute power, which was loſt in the confuſion of civil wars, their views were turned to the monarch alone. Dazzled with the ſplendor of a throne, they miſtook that for the ſource, which ſhould only be the viſible ſign and laſting inſtrument of authority.

SUCH was the ſituation of England, when James I. was called thither from Scotland, as being ſole heir to the two kingdoms, which by his acceſſion were united under one head. A reſtleſs nobility, imparting their fury to their barbarous vaſſals, had kindled the fire of ſedition in thoſe northern mountains, which divided the iſland into two diſtinct ſtates. The monarch had from his earlieſt years been as averſe from limited authority, as the people were from deſpotiſm and abſolute monarchy. Abſolute monarchy then prevailed all over Europe, and as he was equal to other ſovereigns, it was natural that he ſhould be ambitious of the ſame power. His predeceſſors had enjoyed it even in England for a century paſt. But he was not aware that they owed it to their own political abilities, or to favorable junctures. This religious prince, who believed he held all from God and nothing from men, fancied that ſtrength of reaſon, wiſdom and counſel, was centered in himſelf, and ſeemed to arrogate to himſelf that infallibility of which the Pope had been ſtripped by the reformation, whoſe tenets he adopted though he diſliked them. Theſe falſe princi-

ples,

ples, which tended to change government into a myſtery of religion, the more dangerous, as it bore at once upon our opinions, wills and actions, were ſo rooted in his mind together with all the other prejudices of a bad education, that he did not ſo much as think of ſupporting them with any of the human aids of prudence or force.

NOTHING could be more repugnant to the general diſpoſition of the people than this ſyſtem. All was in commotion both at home and abroad. The birth of America had haſtened the maturity of Europe. Navigation extended round the whole globe. The intercourſe of nations would ſoon begin to remove prejudices, and open the door to induſtry and knowlege. The mechanical and liberal arts were extended, and haſtening to perfection by the luxury that prevailed. Literature acquired the ornaments of taſte, and the ſciences that ſolidity which ſprings from a ſpirit of calculation and commerce. Politics enlarged the ſphere of its views. This univerſal ferment exalted the ideas of men. The ſeveral bodies which formed this monſtrous coloſſus of gothic government ſoon began to move on every ſide, to awake out of the lethargy of ignorance in which they had ſlept for many ages, and to form enterprizes. On the continent, where mercenary troops had been raiſed under pretence of maintaining diſcipline, moſt princes acquired an unlimited authority, oppreſſing their ſubjects by force or intrigue. In England, the love of liberty, ſo natural to every thinking man, excited in the people by the authors of religious innovations, awakened in the enlightened minds of thoſe who were converſant with the great writers of antiquity, who derived from their democratic government that ſublimity of reaſon and ſentiment by which they are diſtinguiſhed; this love of liberty kindled in every generous breaſt the utmoſt

BOOK V.

utmoſt abhorrence for unlimited authority. The aſcendent which Elizabeth found means to gain and to ſupport by an uninterrupted proſperity of forty years, withheld this impatience, or turned it to enterprizes that were beneficial to the ſtate. But no ſooner did another branch aſcend the throne, and the ſceptre fall into the hands of a monarch who, by the very violence of his pretenſions, was not much to be dreaded, than the nation aſſerted her rights, and aimed at governing herſelf.

It was at this period that warm diſputes broke out between the court and parliament. Both powers ſeemed to be making trial of their ſtrength by continual oppoſition. The prince pretended that an entire paſſive obedience was due to him, and that national aſſemblies were only ornamental to, not the baſis of the conſtitution. The citizens loudly exclaimed againſt theſe principles, always weak when they come to be diſcuſſed; and maintained that the people as much conſtituted the eſſence of government, if not more than the monarch. The one is the matter, the other the form. Now the form may and muſt change, for the preſervation of the matter. The ſupreme law is the welfare of the people, not that of the prince; the king may die, the monarchy may be at an end, and ſociety ſubſiſt, without either monarch or throne. In this manner the Engliſh reaſoned at the dawn of liberty. They quarrelled, they oppoſed and threatened each other. James finiſhed his courſe in the midſt of theſe debates, leaving his ſon to diſcuſs his rights, with the reſolution of extending them.

The experience of all ages has ſhewn that tranquillity which ariſes from abſolute power, breeds a coolneſs in the minds of the people, damps their courage, cramps their genius, and throws a whole nation into a univerſal lethargy. On the contrary, the motions of a conſtitution

ſtitution inclining to liberty are irregular and rapid; it is a continued fever, ſometimes higher, ſometimes lower, but always convulſive.

ENGLAND experienced this in the beginning of the reign of Charles I. who, though not ſo great a pedant as his father, was equally fond of authority. The diviſion, which had begun between the king and the parliament, became general. The higheſt claſs of the nobility, and the ſecond, which was the richeſt, afraid of being confounded with the vulgar, engaged on the ſide of the king, from whom they derived that borrowed luſtre which they return him by a voluntary and venal bondage. As they ſtill poſſeſſed moſt of the great eſtates, they engaged almoſt all the country people in their party; who naturally love the king, becauſe they think he muſt love them. London, and all the great towns, inſpired by municipal government with the republican ſpirit, declared for the parliament, and drew along with them the trading part of the nation, who valuing themſelves as much as the merchants in Holland, aſpired to the freedom of that democracy.

THESE diviſions brought on the ſharpeſt, the moſt bloody, and the moſt ſtubborn civil war ever recorded in hiſtory. Never did the Engliſh ſpirit ſhew itſelf in ſo dreadful a manner. Every day exhibited freſh ſcenes of violence, which ſeemed to have been already carried to the higheſt exceſs, and theſe again were outdone by others, ſtill more atrocious. It ſeemed as if the nation was juſt upon the brink of deſtruction, and that every Briton had ſworn to bury himſelf under the ruins of his country.

By what men the Britiſh iſlands were peopled.

IN this general tumult, the moſt moderate ſought for a peaceable retreat in the American iſlands, which the Engliſh had lately ſeized upon. The tranquillity they found

BOOK V. found there, induced others to follow them. Whilſt the ſedition was ſpreading in the mother country, the colonies grew up and were peopled. Soon after, the royaliſts, who were oppreſſed by the republican party, which had prevailed at laſt, went and joined the patriots, who had fled from faction.

BOTH theſe were followed by thoſe reſtleſs and ſpirited men, whoſe ſtrong paſſions inſpire them with great deſires and vaſt projects; who deſpiſe dangers, hazards and fatigues, and wiſh to ſee no other end to them but death or fortune; who know of no medium between affluence and want; equally ready to overturn or ſerve their country, to lay it waſte or to enrich it.

THE iſlands were alſo the refuge of ſuch as had been unfortunate in trade, or had been reduced by mercileſs creditors to a ſtate of indigence and idleneſs. Unable as they were to fulfil their engagements, this very misfortune paved the way to their proſperity. After a few years they returned with affluence into their own country, and met with the higheſt reſpect in thoſe very places from whence they had been baniſhed with ignominy and contempt.

THIS reſource was ſtill more neceſſary for young people, who in the firſt tranſports of youth, had been drawn into exceſſes of debauchery and licentiouſneſs. If they had not quitted their country, ſhame and diſgrace, which never fail to depreſs the mind, would have prevented them from recovering either regularity of manners or public eſteem. But in another country, where the experience they had of vice might prove a leſſon of wiſdom, and where they had no occaſion to attempt to remove any unfavourable impreſſions, they found, after their misfortunes, a harbour in which they reſted with ſafety. Their induſtry made amends for their paſt follies,

lies, and men who had left Europe like vagabonds, and who diſgraced it, returned honeſt men, and uſeful members of ſociety.

ALL theſe ſeveral coloniſts had at their diſpoſal for the clearing and tilling of their lands, the moſt proffigate ſet of men of the three kingdoms, who had deſerved death for capital crimes; but who from motives of humanity and good policy, were ſuffered to live and to work for the benefit of the ſtate. Theſe malefactors, who were tranſported for a term of years, which they were to ſpend in ſlavery, became induſtrious and reformed in their manners, which placed them once more in the way of fortune. Some of theſe there were, who when reſtored to ſociety by the freedom they had gained, became planters, heads of families, and the owners of the beſt plantations: a proof how much it is for the intereſt of a civilized ſociety to admit this lenity in the penal laws, ſo conformable to human nature, which is frail, but capable of ſenſibility, and of turning from evil to good.

Under what form of government the Britiſh iſlands were eſtabliſhed.

IN the mean time the Engliſh were too much taken up with their own diſſentions at home, to think of giving laws to the iſlands under their dominion, and the coloniſts were not ſufficiently enlightened to draw up ſuch a ſyſtem of legiſlation as was fit for an infant ſociety. Whilſt the civil war was rectifying the government in England, the colonies, juſt emerging from a ſtate of infancy, formed their own conſtitution upon the model of the mother country. In each of theſe ſeparate ſettlements, a chief repreſents the king, a council the peers, and the deputies of the ſeveral diſtricts, the commons. The general aſſembly enacts laws, regulates taxes, and judges of the adminiſtration. The executive part belongs to the governor, who alſo occaſionally determines upon cauſes which have not been tried before, but in conjunction

BOOK V.

tion with the council and by the majority of votes. Though the members of this body are beholden to him for their rank, they will not ſuffer him to bribe their votes, for fear of expoſing themſelves to the reſentment of the general aſſembly, which has the ſole power of removing them.

GREAT-BRITAIN, to reconcile her own intereſts with the freedom of her colonies, took care that no laws ſhould be enacted there which were inconſiſtent with her own. The governors ſhe ſends thither, to command in her name, ſwear before they go, that they will not ſuffer the leaſt infringement of this fundamental maxim. This oath muſt prevent the commanders from betraying the mother country to favour the iſlands, which, as they are to pay the governor's ſalary, might otherwiſe make his compliance the meaſure of their liberality.

ON the other hand, this kind of dependence checks the governor's pride, and prevents him from becoming tyrannical. The commiſſioners for the plantations have frequently in parliament attacked a prerogative that has reſtrained their authority. Regardleſs of the inconveniences that might attend it, the parliament has always adhered to this wiſe regulation. Juſtly dreading that ſpirit of rapaciouſneſs which induces men to croſs the ſeas, they have ſubjected the placemen who ſhould violate the laws of the colonies, to the ſame penalties as are inflicted in England on thoſe who treſpaſs upon national liberty.

THESE precautions were not thought ſufficient for the ſafety of the coloniſts, whom the nation cheriſhes and protects as her children's children. Every colony has one or more deputies in the mother country. Their important functions are, to prevent the abuſe of power in the governors; to ſolicit the legiſlative body for the improvement and defence of the ſettlements, whoſe rights

rights and wants they repreſent; and to combine the particular intereſt of the trade of the colonies with the general welfare of the nation. Theſe agents do the ſame thing at London as the repreſentatives of the people do in parliament. They plead the cauſe of thoſe diſtant provinces. Unhappy will it be for the ſtate if ever they ſhould turn a deaf ear to the cries of the repreſentatives, whoever they are. The counties in England would riſe; the colonies would ſhake off their allegiance in America; the treaſures of both worlds would be loſt to an iſland which nature has made ſovereign of the ſea.

UNDER what milder and wiſer government could Engliſhmen live, who from the American iſlands are linked with their own country by the ties of blood and by thoſe of neceſſity? And indeed the coloniſts eſtabliſhed upon theſe foreign ſhores are conſtantly looking up to their mother country, who is ever attentive to their preſervation. One might ſay that, as the eagle who never loſes ſight of the neſt where ſhe foſters her young, London ſeems to look down upon her colonies, and to ſee them grow up and thrive under her tender care. Her numberleſs veſſels, covering an extent of two thouſand leagues with their proud ſails, form as it were a bridge over the ocean, and carry on an uninterrupted communication between both worlds. With good laws, which maintain what they have once eſtabliſhed, ſhe preſerves her poſſeſſions abroad without a ſtanding army, which is always an oppreſſive and ruinous burden. Two very ſmall corps fixed at Antigua and Jamaica are ſufficient for a nation that can at any time tranſport troops wherever they may be wanted.

By theſe beneficent regulations, dictated by humanity and ſound policy, the Engliſh iſlands ſoon grew happy, though not rich. Their culture was confined to

BOOK V.

tobacco, cotton, ginger, and indigo. Some of the enterprizing coloniſts fetched ſugar canes from Braziſ, and they multiplied prodigiouſly, but to no great purpoſe. They were ignorant of the art of managing this valuable plant, and drew from it ſuch indifferent ſugar, that it would not ſell in Europe, or ſold at the loweſt price. A ſeries of voyages to Fernambucca taught them how to make uſe of the treaſure they had carried off; and the Portugueſe, who till then had engroſſed all the ſugar trade, found in 1650 in an ally, whoſe induſtry they thought precarious, a rival who was one day to ſupplant them.

All this while the mother country had but a very ſmall ſhare in the proſperity of her colonies. They ſent their own commodities directly to all parts of the world, where they thought they would ſell beſt, and indiſcriminately admitted ſhips of all nations into their ports. This unlimited freedom muſt of courſe throw almoſt all their trade into the hands of that nation which, in conſequence of the low intereſt their money bears, the largeneſs of their ſtock, the number of their ſhips, and the reaſonableneſs of their duties of import and export, could afford to make the beſt terms, to buy at the deareſt, and ſell at the cheapeſt rate. Theſe people were the Dutch. They united all the advantages of a ſuperior army, which, being ever maſter of the field, is free in all its operations. They ſoon ſeized upon the profits of ſo many productions, which they had neither planted nor gathered. Ten of their ſhips were ſeen in the Britiſh iſlands to one Engliſh veſſel.

The nation had paid little attention to this evil during the diſturbances of the civil wars; but as ſoon as theſe troubles were compoſed, and the ſtate reſtored to tranquillity by the very violence of its commotions, they began to look abroad. They perceived that thoſe ſubjects,

jects, who had as it were taken refuge in America, would be loſt to the ſtate, if foreigners were ſuffered to devour the fruits of their induſtry. The diſcuſſion of this point brought on the famous navigation act in 1651, which excluded all foreign ſhips from entering the harbours of the Engliſh iſlands, and conſequently obliged their produce to be exported directly to the countries under the dominion of England. The government, though aware of the inconveniencies of ſuch an excluſion, was not alarmed at it, but conſidered the empire only as a tree, whoſe ſap muſt be turned back to the trunk, when it flows too freely to ſome of the branches.

It was happy however for England that this reſtraining law could not then be enforced in its utmoſt rigour. A kind of negligence in the execution of it allowed time for the colonies to increaſe their ſugar plantations, by the ready ſale they found for their ſugars, which enabled them to vie with the Portugueſe, and inſenſibly to riſe upon their ruins. Theſe plantations made ſuch rapid progreſs in the ſpace of nine years, that in 1660, when it was judged that the law might ſafely be put in execution in its utmoſt ſtrictneſs, the Engliſh were already maſters of the ſugar trade all over Europe, except in the Mediterranean, which had continued faithful to their competitors, on account of the charges of re-exportation, occaſioned by the navigation act. It is true, in order to attain this ſuperiority, they had been obliged greatly to underſell their neighbours; but their plentiful crops made them full amends for this neceſſary ſacrifice. If it happened that other nations were encouraged by their ſucceſs to raiſe plantations, at leaſt for their own conſumption, the Engliſh opened other markets which ſupplied the place of the former. The only miſchance they met with, in a long ſeries of years, was the ſeeing many of their cargoes taken by French

BOOK V.

privateers, and ſold for a trifle. The planter ſuſtained by this a double inconvenience, that of loſing part of his ſugars, and being obliged to ſell the remainder for leſs than it was worth.

In what manner the proſperity of the Britiſh iſlands diminiſh'd.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe tranſient piracies, which always ceaſed in time of peace, the plantations ſtill continued to proſper in the Engliſh iſlands. It appears from entries which are ſaid to be exact, that about the year 1680, they ſent annually to Europe but 30,000 hogſheads of ſugar, each containing twelve hundred weight. Their exports from 1708 to 1718 were of 55,439 annually; from 1718 to 1727 they roſe to 68,931, and the ſix following years to 93,889. But from 1733 to 1737 they fell to 75,695, and the following years they ſtood at 70,000 hogſheads.

IF we enquire into the cauſe of this diminution, we ſhall find it was owing to France. This kingdom, which from its ſituation, and from the active genius of its inhabitants, ſhould be foremoſt in every undertaking, is ſo fettered by the nature of its government, that it is the laſt acquainted with its own advantages and intereſts. The French firſt got their ſugars from the Engliſh, and afterwards their informations. They made ſome at firſt for their own conſumption, and began exporting it in 1716. The ſuperiority of their ſoil, the advantage of freſh lands, the frugality of their planters who were yet poor, all conſpired to enable them to underſell their competitors. This greateſt of all advantages in trade, obtained them the preference in all the markets. As their produce increaſed, that of their rivals was rejected becauſe it was dearer. The decay was ſo rapid, that a nation which had ſupplied all Europe with ſugars, and ſtill ſold 19,202 hogſheads to foreigners in 1719, ſold no more than

7,715

7,715 in 1733, 5,211 in 1737, and none at all in 1740. BOOK V.

THE English iſlands had begun to complain long before this revolution was completed. They had applied to parliament from the year 1731 to engage them to prevent the ruin of a trade that was already loſt. Their petitions were at firſt diſregarded. Moſt people were of opinion that the lands in the colonies were exhauſted, and the parliament had adopted this prejudice, not conſidering that though the ſoil was not altogether ſo luxuriant as freſh grounds, yet it ſtill retained that degree of fertility which it ſeldom loſes by conſtant tillage, unleſs it is capitally injured by ſome accidental calamity. But when it was made evident from eſtimates laid before the houſe, that the laſt crops had been greater than the former, the parliament began to think of ways and means to reſtore this ſource of public fortune.

THE political oeconomy of commerce conſiſts in ſelling cheaper than ones rivals. This the Engliſh iſlands were able to do, before the mother country, in 1663, had appropriated to herſelf a duty of four and a half per cent. upon all ſugars brought from Barbadoes, which was ſoon extended to thoſe of the other ſettlements. The great plenty of the commodity however prevented their ſinking immediately under this burden. But the neceſſities of the colonies having ſince compelled them to overload themſelves with freſh taxes, they were no longer able to withſtand a competition which grew every-day more formidable, and they inſenſibly ſaw themſelves ſupplanted in all parts. Poſſibly they might have been reſcued from this ſad ſituation, by ſuppreſſing the duty of four and a half per cent. and by ſacrificing to their local adminiſtration the enormous duties their commodities pay on their entry into Great Britain; but

BOOK V.

her great expences and her heavy national debt would not certainly admit of this generoſity, and the government thought they did enough for the colonies in allowing them, as they did in 1739, to ſend their ſugars directly to all the ports of Europe. This conceſſion, which was contrary to the navigation act, proved ineffectual. The French maintained their ſuperiority in all the markets, and the Engliſh colonies were reduced to ſupply ſugars merely for the conſumption of the Britiſh dominions, which did not exceed 12,000 hogſheads at the beginning of the century, and in 1755 amounted to 70,000.

Settlement of the Engliſh at Barbadoes.

ENGLAND was beholden for this produce to their ancient poſſeſſions in the Weſt Indies. The iſland of Barbadoes, which is ſituated to windward of all the others, appeared to have never been inhabited, not even by ſavages, when ſome Engliſhmen from St. Chriſtopher's went and ſettled there in 1629. They found it covered with ſuch large and hard trees, that it required uncommon reſolution and patience to fell them and root them up. The ground was ſoon cleared of this incumbrance, or ſtripped of this ornament: for it is doubtful whether nature does not decorate her own work better than the hand of man, who alters every thing for himſelf alone. Some patriots, tired of ſeeing the blood of their countrymen ſpilt, went and peopled this foreign land. Whilſt the other colonies were rather ravaged than cultivated by thoſe vagabonds who had been driven from home by poverty or licentiouſneſs, Barbadoes daily received new inhabitants, who brought along with them not only their ſtock of money, but a taſte for labour, courage, activity, ambition, thoſe vices and virtues which are the fruits of civil wars.

BY theſe means, an iſland, which is no more than eight leagues long and four broad, attained to a population

tion of a hundred thouſand ſouls, and a trade that employed four hundred ſhips of 150 tons burthen each. Such was the ſtate of its proſperity in 1676, the period of its utmoſt greatneſs. Never had the earth beheld ſuch a number of planters collected in ſo ſmall a compaſs, or ſo many rich productions, raiſed in ſo ſhort a time. The labours, directed by Europeans, were performed by ſlaves bought in Africa, or even ſtolen in America. This unwarrantable method of procuring them was but a ruinous kind of prop for a new edifice, and was near overturning it.

Some Engliſhmen, who had landed on the coaſts of the continent to get ſlaves, were diſcovered by the Caribs, who were the object of their ſearch. Theſe ſavages fell upon them, and put them all to death or to flight. A young man, who had been long purſued, ran into a wood, where an Indian woman meeting him, ſaved his life, concealed and fed him, and ſome time after, conducted him to the ſea-ſide. His companions were laying at anchor there, waiting for the men they miſſed, and ſent the boat to fetch him. His deliverer inſiſted on following him on board the ſhip. They were no ſooner landed at Barbadoes, but the monſter ſold her who had ſaved his life, and had beſtowed her heart as well as her perſon upon him. To vindicate the honour of the Engliſh nation, one of her poets has recorded this ſhocking inſtance of avarice and perfidy, to be abhorred by poſterity; it has been told in ſeveral languages, and held out to the deteſtation of all foreign nations.

The Indians, who dared not undertake to revenge themſelves, imparted their reſentment to the negroes, who had ſtronger motives, if poſſible, for hating the Engliſh. The ſlaves, with one accord, vowed the death of their tyrants. This conſpiracy was carried on

BOOK V.

with ſuch ſecreſy, that the very day before it was to have been executed, the colony had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of it. But, as if generoſity was always to be the virtue of the wretched, one of the leaders of the plot informed his maſter of it. Letters were immediately diſpatched to all the plantations, and came in time to prevent the impending miſchief. The following night, the ſlaves were ſeized in their huts; the moſt guilty were executed by break of day; and this act of ſeverity reduced the reſt to obedience.

THEY have never revolted ſince, and yet the exportations are not half of what they were. This revolution has been brought on by the extravagance of the inhabitants; by contagious diſtempers; by hurricanes; by the emigration of many who are gone over to other iſlands, or to the continent of North-America; by the waſte of the land, and the neceſſity of manuring it; and laſtly, by the competition of a rival nation, which has been ſo fortunate as to meet with a better ſoil.

AT this preſent time there are at Barbadoes but 30,000 ſlaves, who are employed in manuring the ground with varech, a ſea weed which the tide throws on ſhore. It is in this varech that the ſugar-canes are planted. The earth has little more to do with the growing of them, than the tubs in which we plant orange-trees in Europe. The whole produce of this laborious proceſs is no more than 15,000 hogſheads of raw ſugar. They are conveyed to England, where they are ſold for about 6,750,000 livres, (295,312*l.* 2*s.*) The ſpirits, which may amount to 800,000 livres, (35,000*l.*) are all ſent to North-America.

BARBADOES is the only trading colony belonging to the Engliſh in the Leeward iſlands. All, or almoſt all the ſhips laden with ſlaves that come from the coaſt of Africa, land there. If they cannot get a good price for their

their negroes, they go ſomewhere elſe; but it ſeldom happens that they do not diſpoſe of them at Barbadoes. The uſual price of ſlaves is from eight to nine hundred livres, (about 37*l.* on an average.) according to what nation or tribe they belong to. In this bargain, no diſtinction is ever made of age or ſex, but they all ſell together at ſo much a head. The payments are made in bills of exchange upon London, at ninety days ſight.

THESE negroes, which the merchants have bought by wholeſale, they retail on this very iſland, or in ſome other of the Engliſh iſlands. The refuſe is ſmuggled into the Spaniſh or French colonies. By this traffic five or ſix millions of livres (about 240,500*l.* on an average.) were formerly circulated in Barbadoes; the ſpecies that is ſtill to be found there, though in ſmaller quantities, is all foreign; it is looked upon as a commodity, and is only taken by the weight. The ſhipping properly belonging to this ſettlement, conſiſts of a ſufficient number of veſſels for their ſeveral correſpondences, and about forty ſloops employed in the fiſhery of the flying fiſh. Nature and art conſpire to fortify this iſland. Two thirds of its circumference are rendered inacceſſible by dangerous rocks, and on the open ſide they have drawn lines, which are defended at proper diſtances by forts, provided with a formidable artillery. So that Barbadoes is ſtill in a condition to command reſpect in time of war, and to be courted by her neighbours in time of peace. It affords a ſolid foundation for the richeſt of all cultures, a convenient mart for the ſlave trade, a larger proportion of revenue, of population, of commerce, and of forces, than could reaſonably be expected on ſo ſmall a ſpot, eſpecially when compared to other neighbouring iſlands. Antigua, which is almoſt as large, neither enjoys the ſame advantages, nor is of the ſame conſequence.

THIS

BOOK V.

Settlement of the Engliſh at Antigua.

THIS iſland, which is but twenty miles long, but of conſiderable breadth, was found totally uninhabited, by thoſe few Frenchmen who fled thither in 1629, upon being driven from St. Chriſtopher's by the Spaniards. The want of ſprings, which, doubtleſs, was the reaſon why no ſavages had ſettled there, induced theſe fugitives to return, as ſoon as they could regain their former habitations. Some Engliſhmen, more enterprizing than either the French or the Caribs, flattered themſelves that they ſhould overcome this great obſtacle, by collecting the rain-water in ciſterns, and they therefore ſettled there. The year in which this ſettlement was begun is not exactly known; but it appears that in January 1640, there were about thirty families on the iſland.

THE number was not much increaſed, when king Charles II. granted the property of this iſland to lord Willoughby, as his father had given that of Barbadoes to the earl of Carliſle. His lordſhip ſent over a good number of inhabitants at his own expence, in 1666. It is probable they would never have enriched themſelves by the culture of tobacco, indigo and ginger, the only commodities they dealt in, had not colonel Coddrington introduced into the iſland, which was then reſtored to the dominion of the ſtate, a ſource of wealth, in the year 1680, by the culture of ſugar. The ſugar was at firſt black, harſh and coarſe, and would not ſell in England; they could only diſpoſe of it in Holland, and in the Hans towns, where it ſold for much leſs than that of the other colonies. By the moſt aſſiduous labour, art got the better of nature, and brought this ſugar to as great a perfection, and to fetch as high a price as any other. The iſland yielded 8000 hogſheads, the only fruit of the labours of fifteen or ſixteen thouſand blacks.

THE

THE abuſe of authority, ſo common in moſt nations, but ſo rare among the Engliſh, was ſeverely felt at Antigua, and did not go unpuniſhed. The governor, colonel Park, in defiance of the laws, and regardleſs of morals or decorum, gave a looſe to his unbounded arrogance. The members of the council, unable to put a ſtop to exceſſes which they abhorred, ſummoned the coloniſts in 1710 to protect their repreſentatives, to defend the fortunes of the public, and to put an end to ſo many calamities. Upon this they immediately took up arms. The tyrant was attacked in his own houſe, and ſtabbed to death. His corpſe was thrown naked into the ſtreet, and mutilated by thoſe whoſe bed he had diſhonoured. The mother country, more moved by the ſacred rights of nature than jealous of her own authority, overlooked a deed which her vigilance ought to have prevented, but which ſhe was too equitable to revenge. It is only the part of a tyrant to excite a rebellion, and then to quench it in the blood of the oppreſſed. Machiaveliſm, which teaches princes the art of being feared and deteſted, directs them to ſtifle the victims whoſe cries grow importunate. Humanity preſcribes to kings, juſtice in legiſlation, mildneſs in adminiſtration, lenity to prevent inſurrections, and clemency to pardon them. Religion enjoins obedience to the people, but God above all things requires equity in princes. If they violate it, a hundred thouſand arms and voices will be lifted up againſt a ſingle man, at the judgment of heaven and earth. The American iſlands have ſometimes avenged the authority of kings and the rights of the people upon iniquitous governors, who, by a double treachery, proſtituted the king's name to oppreſs a nation. Antigua will be celebrated in hiſtory for this terrible example

BOOK V.

ample of juſtice. This iſland is, however, too confined; but that of Montſerrat is ſtill leſs.

Settlement of the Engliſh at Montſerrat.

THE Spaniards diſcovered this iſland in 1493. They did not ſettle there, but gave it the name of a mountain in Catalonia, which it reſembles in ſhape. It is almoſt round, and about nine leagues in circumference. The ground is very uneven, full of barren hills, and vallies fertilized by the waters. The Engliſh, who landed there in 1632, were not content with diſturbing the peace of the many ſavages who dwelt there, but drove them all away. This barbarity was not productive of the advantages they expected from it. The progreſs of the colony was but ſlow, and it made no figure till towards the end of the century.

AT this period, a ſpirit of univerſal exertion diſplayed itſelf, which, however, could not be accounted for from any particular cauſe. The leſs important cultures, which barely afforded a ſcanty proviſion of common neceſſaries, were all turned to ſugar-plantations. Five thouſand hogſheads are now annually made by ten thouſand ſlaves, though ſeveral misfortunes, occaſioned either by war, or by the elements, have from time to time diſappointed the induſtry of the planters. The loading and unloading of ſhips is difficult in an iſland which has not one good road. They would even be in danger upon the coaſts, if the maſters did not take care, when they ſee a ſtorm approaching, to put out to ſea, or to take ſhelter in ſome neighbouring harbour. Nevis is expoſed to the ſame inconvenience.

Settlement of the Engliſh at Nevis.

THE moſt generally received opinion is, that the Engliſh ſettled on this iſland in 1628. It is properly but a very high mountain of an eaſy aſcent, and crowned with tall trees. The plantations lie all round; and beginning

ning at the ſea ſide, are continued almoſt to the top of the mountain; but the higher they ſtand, the leſs fertile they are, becauſe the ſoil grows more ſtony. This iſland is watered by many ſtreams, which would be ſo many ſources of plenty, if they did not in ſtormy weather ſwell into torrents, waſh away the lands, and deſtroy the very treaſures they have produced.

THE colony of Nevis is a model of virtue, order and piety. Theſe exemplary manners have been owing to the paternal care of the firſt governor. This incomparable man inſpired all the inhabitants by his own example with a love of labour, a reaſonable oeconomy, and innocent recreations. All the plantations, eſpecially thoſe of ſugar, were ſucceſsfully encouraged. The commander and thoſe who obeyed were all actuated by the ſame principle of the ſtricteſt equity. Never was there an inſtance of greater harmony, peace and ſecurity. So rapid was the progreſs of this ſingular ſettlement, that if we may credit all the accounts of thoſe times, it ſoon contained 10,000 white people, and 20,000 blacks. Admitting even that ſuch a population in ſo ſmall a compaſs muſt be over rated, ſtill it will ſhew the amazing but infallible effect of virtue, in promoting the proſperity of a well regulated ſociety.

BUT, even virtue itſelf will not ſecure either individuals or ſocieties from the calamities of nature, or from the injuries of fortune. In 1689, a dreadful mortality ſwept away half this happy colony. It was ravaged in 1706 by a French ſquadron, which carried off three or four thouſand ſlaves. The next year, the ruin of this iſland was completed by the moſt furious hurricane ever recorded. Since this ſeries of diſaſters, it has recovered a little, and at this day contains 8000 blacks, and produces 4000 hogſheads of ſugar. Perhaps thoſe who grieve

BOOK V.

grieve moſt at the deſtruction of the Americans, and the ſlavery of the Africans, would receive ſome conſolation if the Europeans were every where as humane as the Engliſh have been in this iſland of Nevis, and if all the iſlands in that part of the world were as well cultivated in proportion; but nature and ſociety afford few ſuch prodigies.

ENGLAND draws no productions from Barbuda, Anguilla, or the Virgin iſlands. Four thouſand inhabitants, half freemen, and half ſlaves, ſcattered about theſe wretched ſettlements, breed ſome cattle, and grow ſome few proviſions, that they go and ſell in the neighbouring colonies. Though they are poor, they enjoy the benefit of a free and ſeparate government; yet the chief of theſe iſlands, as alſo of Antigua, Montſerrat, and Nevis, is but the deputy of a governor general, who reſides at St. Chriſtopher's.

Settlement of the Engliſh at St. Chriſtopher's.

SAINT Chriſtopher's was the nurſery of all the Engliſh and French colonies in America. Both nations arrived there on the ſame day in 1625. They ſhared the iſland between them, ſigned a perpetual neutrality, and entered into a mutual engagement to aſſiſt each other againſt their common enemy the Spaniard, who for a century paſt had engroſſed or diſturbed the whole hemiſphere. But jealouſy ſoon divided thoſe whom intereſt had united. The French grew envious of the proſperous labours of the Engliſh, who on their ſide could not patiently bear that an idle neighbour, whoſe only employment was hunting and gallantry, ſhould be trying to rob them of their wives. This reciprocal uneaſineſs ſoon created quarrels, fighting, and devaſtations, though neither of the parties aimed at conqueſt. Theſe were only domeſtic animoſities, in which government took no part. Greater intereſts having kindled a war between the

the two mother countries in 1666, St. Chriſtopher's became a ſcene of carnage for half a century. The weaker party having been compelled to evacuate the colony, ſoon entered it again with a reinforcement, both to revenge their defeat and to repair their loſſes. This long conteſt, in which both parties alternately had the advantage, was terminated by the total expulſion of the French in 1702, and the peace of Utrecht cut off all their hopes of ever returning thither.

THIS was no great ſacrifice at that time, for a people who had never done any thing there but hunt and ſhed blood. Their population amounted but to 667 white people of all ages and of both ſexes, 29 free blacks, and 659 ſlaves. All their herds conſiſted only of 265 head of horned cattle, and 157 horſes. They raiſed nothing but a little cotton and indigo, and had but one ſingle ſugar plantation.

THOUGH the Engliſh had for a long time made a greater advantage of this iſland, yet they did not immediately reap all the benefit they might have done from having the ſole poſſeſſion of it.

THIS conqueſt was for a long time a prey to rapacious governors, who ſold the lands for their own profit or gave them away to their creatures, though they could warrant the duration of the ſale or grant only during the term of their adminiſtration. The parliament of England at laſt put an end to this grievance, by ordering that all lands ſhould be put up to auction, and the purchaſe money poured into the public coffers. After this wiſe regulation, the new plantations were as well cultivated as the old ones.

THE whole of the iſland may be about ſeventy miles in circumference. The center is full of high and barren mountains and the plains of pleaſant, neat and commodious

BOOK V.

modious habitations, adorned with avenues, fountains and groves. The taſte for rural life, which the Engliſh have retained more than any other civilized nation in Europe, prevails in the higheſt degree at St. Chriſtopher's. They never had the leaſt occaſion to form a parcel of ſmall ſocieties in order to beguile time, and if the French had not left there a ſmall town, where their manners are preſerved, they will ſtill be unacquainted with that kind of ſocial life, which is productive of more altercations than pleaſures; which is kept up by gallantry, and terminates in debauchery; which begins with convivial joys, and ends in the quarrels of gaming. Inſtead of this image of union, which is in fact but a beginning of diſcord, the Engliſh planters live by themſelves, but live happy; their ſoul and countenance as ſerene as the clear ſky, under which they breathe a pure and wholeſome air, in the midſt of their plantation, and ſurrounded with their ſlaves; whom no doubt they govern like ſo many fathers, ſince they inſpire them with generous and ſometimes heroic ſentiments. St. Chriſtopher's has afforded ſuch a ſignal inſtance of love and friendſhip, as is not to be paralleled in fable or hiſtory.

Two negroes, both young, handſome, robuſt, courageous, and born with a ſoul of an uncommon caſt, were fond of each other from their infancy. Partners in the ſame labours, they were united by their ſufferings, which in feeling minds form a ſtronger attachment than pleaſures. If they were not happy, they comforted each other in their misfortunes. Love, which generally obliterates the remembrance of misfortuneſs ſerved only to make theirs complete. A negro girl, who was likewiſe a ſlave, and whoſe eyes no doubt were the brighter from the contraſt of her dark complexion, kindled an equal flame in the hearts of theſe two friends. The girl, who

was

was more capable of inſpiring than of feeling a ſtrong paſſion, would gladly have married either of them, but neither of them would rob his friend, or give her up. Time ſerved only to increaſe the torments they ſuffered, without affecting their friendſhip or their love. Oftentimes did tears of anguiſh ſtream from their eyes, in the midſt of the demonſtrations of friendſhip they gave each other, at the ſight of the too beloved object that threw them into deſpair. They ſometimes ſwore that they would love her no more, and that they would rather part with life than forfeit their friendſhip. The whole plantation was moved at the ſight of theſe conflicts. The love of the two friends for the beautiful negro girl was the topic of every converſation. One day they followed her into a wood, there each embraced her, claſped her a thouſand times to his heart, ſwore all the oaths and called every tender name that love could inſpire, and at once, without ſpeaking or looking at each other, they both plunged a dagger into her breaſt. She expired, and they mingled their tears and groans with her laſt breath. They roared aloud, and made the wood ring with their violent outcries. A ſlave came running to their aſſiſtance, and ſaw them at a diſtance ſmothering the victim of their ſtrange love with their kiſſes. He called out to ſome others who ſoon came up, and found theſe two friends embracing each other upon the body of this unhappy girl, and bathed in her blood; whilſt they themſelves were expiring in the ſtreams that flowed from their own wounds.

These lovers and theſe friends were a part of a body of 25,000 negroes, deſtined to furniſh Europe with twelve or thirteen thouſand hogſheads of ſugar. It is in the midſt of ſuch ſevere labours, and in ſo degrading a ſtation, that we ſee ſuch actions, as muſt aſtoniſh the whole world. If there is a man who is not ſtruck

BOOK V.

with horror and compaſſion at the greatneſs of this ferocious love, nature muſt have formed ſuch a man, not for the ſlavery of the negroes, but for the tyranny of their maſters. He will have lived without commiſerating others, and will die without comfort; he muſt never have ſhed a tear, and none will ever be ſhed for him. But it is now time to quit St. Chriſtopher's, and paſs on to Jamaica.

The Engliſh drive the Spaniards from Jamaica, and ſettle themſelves there.

THIS iſland, which lies to windward of the other Engliſh iſlands, and which geographers have ranked amongſt the greater Leeward iſlands, is nearly of an oval figure, the greater diameter being 170 miles, and the leſſer 70 at moſt. It is interſected with ſeveral ridges of high craggy mountains, with frightful rocks irregularly heaped up one upon another. Their barrenneſs does not prevent their being covered all over with a prodigious quantity of trees of different kinds, that ſtrike their roots through the clefts of the rocks, and attract the moiſture that is depoſited there by ſtorms and frequent fogs. This perpetual verdure, kept up and embelliſhed by a multitude of plentiful caſcades, makes a conſtant ſpring all the year round, and exhibits the moſt enchanting proſpect in nature. But theſe waters which fall from the barren ſummits, and fertilize the plains below, are brackiſh and unwholeſome. This defect is happily compenſated by the ſalubrity of the air, which is the pureſt of any between the tropics in either hemiſphere.

COLUMBUS diſcovered this iſland in 1494, but made no ſettlement there. Eight years after, he was thrown upon it by a ſtorm. Having loſt his ſhips, and being unable to get away, he implored the humanity of the ſavages who gave him all the aſſiſtance that natural pity ſuggeſts. But theſe people who cultivated no more land than what was juſt ſufficient to ſupply their own wants,

ſoon

ſoon grew tired of ſupporting ſtrangers, to the manifeſt riſque of ſtarving themſelves, and inſenſibly withdrew from their neighbourhood. The Spaniards, who had already indiſpoſed the Indians againſt them by repeated acts of violence, grew outrageous, and proceeded ſo far as to take up arms againſt a chief whom they accuſed of too much ſeverity, becauſe he diſapproved of their ferocity. Columbus, forced to yield to their threats, in order to diſengage himſelf from ſo deſperate a ſituation, availed himſelf of one of thoſe natural phaenomena, in which a man of genius may ſometimes find a reſource, which he may be excuſed for having recourſe to in a caſe of urgent neceſſity,

FROM the little he had learnt of aſtronomy, he knew there would ſoon be an eclipſe of the moon. He took advantage of this circumſtance, and ſummoned all the Caciques in the neighbourhood to come and hear ſomething that nearly concerned them, and was eſſential to their preſervation. He then ſtood up in the midſt of them, and having upbraided them with their barbarity, in leaving him and his companions to periſh for want, he addreſſed them in theſe words, which he pronounced with an air of inſpiration: *To puniſh you for this, the God whom I worſhip is going to ſtrike you with his moſt terrible judgments. This very evening you will ſee the moon turn red, then grow dark and withhold her light from you. This will be but a prelude to your calamities, if you obſtinately refuſe to give us food.*

THE admiral had ſcarce done ſpeaking, when his prophecies were fulfilled. The ſavages were terrified beyond meaſure; they thought they were all loſt; they begged for mercy, and promiſed to do any thing they ſhould deſire. They were then told that heaven, moved at their repentance, was appeaſed, and that nature

BOOK V.

was going to reſume her wonted courſe. From that moment, proviſions were ſent in from all quarters, and Columbus had plenty all the while he remained there.

It was Don Diego, the ſon of this extraordinary man, who fixed the Spaniards at Jamaica. In 1509, he ſent thither ſeventy robbers from St. Domingo under the command of John d'Eſquimel, and others ſoon followed. It ſeemed as if they all went over to this delightful and peaceable iſland, for no other purpoſe than to ſpill human blood. Thoſe barbarous wretches never ſheathed their ſword while there was one inhabitant left to preſerve the memory of a numerous, good-natured, plain and hoſpitable people. It was happy for the earth, that theſe murderers were not to ſupply their place. They had no inclination to multiply in an iſland where no gold was to be had. Their cruelty did not anſwer the purpoſe of their avarice, and the earth which they had drenched with blood, ſeemed to refuſe her aſſiſtance to ſecond the barbarous efforts they made to fix there. Every ſettlement raiſed upon the aſhes of the natives, was unſucceſsful, when labour and deſpair had completed the deſtruction of the few ſavages who had eſcaped the fury of the firſt conqueſts. That of St. Jago de la Vega, was the only one that ſupported itſelf. The inhabitants of that town, plunged in idleneſs, the uſual conſequence of tyranny after devaſtation, were content with living upon the produce of ſome few plantations, and the overplus they ſold to the ſhips that paſſed by their coaſts. The whole population of the colony, centered in the little ſpot that fed this worthleſs race of deſtroyers, conſiſted of 1500 ſlaves, commanded by as many tyrants, when the Engliſh came and attacked the town, took it, and ſettled there in 1655.

They

BOOK V.

THEY brought diſcord along with them. At firſt, the new colony was only inhabited by three thouſand of that fanatical militia, which had fought and conquered under the ſtandards of the republican party. They were ſoon followed by a multitude of royaliſts, who were in hopes of finding reſt and peace in America, to comfort them after their defeat. The party diviſions, which had ſo long and ſo cruelly tormented them at home, followed them beyond the ſeas. One party inſolently triumphed in the protection of Cromwell, whom they had exalted upon the ruins of the throne: the other truſted to the governor of the iſland, who was a royaliſt in his heart, though forced to bend under the authority that appointed him. This was ſufficient to have renewed in America the ſcenes of horror and bloodſhed which had ſo often been acted in England, had not Penn and Venables the conquerors of Jamaica, given the command of the iſland to the wiſeſt of their men, who happened to be the oldeſt officer. His name was Dudley, and he was a friend to the Stewarts. Twice did Cromwell appoint ſome of his own party in his ſtead, and twice did Dudley come in again, upon the death of his opponents.

THE conſpiracies that were forming againſt him were diſcovered and fruſtrated. Never did he ſuffer the ſmalleſt breach of diſcipline to go unpuniſhed. He always kept the balance even between the faction his heart deteſted and the party he loved. He excited induſtry, and encouraged it by his attention, his advice, and his example. His authority was enforced by his diſintereſted behaviour. He never could be prevailed upon to accept of a ſalary, being content to live upon the produce of his own plantations. In private life, he was plain and familiar; in office, an intrepid warrior, a ſteady and ſtrict commander, and a wiſe politician. His

BOOK V.

manner of governing was altogether military, becauſe his buſineſs was to reſtrain or to regulate an infant colony, wholly compoſed of ſoldiers, and to prevent and repulſe any invaſion from the Spaniards, who might attempt to recover what they had loſt.

But when Charles II. was called to the crown, by the nation that had deprived his father of it, a form of civil government was eſtabliſhed at Jamaica, modelled like thoſe of the other iſlands upon that of the mother-country. The governor repreſented the king; the council the peers; and three deputies from each town with two from every pariſh, conſtituted the commons. But the firſt exertions of this aſſembly were confined to a few temporary regulations, relative to the police, the adminiſtration of juſtice, and the finances, thrown together without any order. It was not till the year 1682 that the code of laws was drawn up, which to this day preſerves the colony in all its vigour. Three of theſe wiſe ſtatutes merit the attention of our political readers.

The one, which provides for the defence of their country, warmly excites that very ſelf-intereſt which might divert individuals from attending to it. It is enacted, that whatever miſchief is done by the enemy, ſhall immediately be made good by the ſtate or at the expence of all the ſubjects, if the money found in the treaſury ſhould prove inſufficient.

Another law concerns the means of increaſing population. It enacts, that every ſhip captain who brings a man into the colony, who is unable to pay for his paſſage, ſhall receive a general gratuity of twenty-two livres ten ſols. (19*s.* 8*d.* halfpenny.) The particular gratuity is 168 livres fifteen ſols, (about 7*l.* 7*s.*) for every perſon brought from England or Scotland; 135 livres (5*l.* 18*s.* 1*d.* halfpenny.) for every perſon brought from Ireland;

Ireland; ſeventy-eight livres fifteen ſols (about 3*l.* 8*s.* 11*d.*) for every perſon brought from the continent of America; and forty-five livres (1*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.* halfpenny.) for every perſon brought from the other iſlands.

THE third law tends to the encouragement of agriculture. When a proprietor of land is unable to pay either intereſt or capital of the money he has borrowed, his plantation is appraiſed by twelve planters who are his equals. The creditor is obliged to take the eſtate in full payment, though the appraiſement ſhould fall ſhort of the debt; but if the plantation exceeds the debt, then he muſt reimburſe the overplus. This regulation, though it leaves room for partialities, makes amends for it by the general good it produces of abating the rigour of the landlord's and merchant's lawſuits againſt the planter. The reſult of this diſpoſition is in favour of lands and men in general. The creditor is ſeldom a ſufferer, becauſe he is upon his guard; and the debtor is more obliged to be vigilant and honeſt, if he means to find credit. Confidence then becomes the baſis of all agreements, and confidence is only to be gained by virtue.

Jamaica has enriched itſelf by the illegal trade it has carried on with Spaniſh America.

THE colony had already acquired ſome degree of fame, before theſe ſalutary laws had ſecured her proſperity. Some adventurers, as well from hatred and national jealouſy, as from an unſettled diſpoſition and want of fortune, attacked the Spaniſh ſhips. Theſe corſairs were ſeconded by Cromwell's ſoldiers, who gaining nothing after his death, but that public averſion which their former ſucceſſes had drawn upon them, went to ſeek that promotion abroad, which they could never expect at home. Theſe were joined by a multitude of Engliſhmen of both parties, accuſtomed to blood, by the civil wars which had ruined them. Theſe

BOOK V.

men eager for rapine and carnage, plundered the ſeas, and ravaged the coaſts of America. Jamaica was the place where the ſpoils of Mexico and Peru were always brought by the Engliſh, and frequently by foreigners. They found in this iſland more eaſe, a better reception, protection and freedom than any where elſe, whether for landing, or for ſpending the produce of their excurſions as they pleaſed. Here extravagance and debauchery ſoon plunged them again into indigence. This only ſpur to their cruel and ſanguinary induſtry, made them haſten to commit freſh depredations. Thus the colony reaped the benefit of their perpetual viciſſitudes of fortune, and enriched itſelf by the vices which were both the ſource and the ruin of their wealth.

When this deſtructive race became extinct, by reaſon of the frequency of the murders they committed, the funds they had left behind, and, which, indeed had been taken from wretches ſtill more unjuſt and cruel than themſelves, proved a freſh ſource of opulence, by facilitating the means of opening a clandeſtine trade with the Spaniſh ſettlements. This vein of riches continued increaſing, and eſpecially towards the end of the century. Some Portugueſe, with a capital of three millions, (about 131,250*l.*) of which the ſovereign had advanced two thirds, engaged, in 1696, to furniſh the ſubjects of the court of Madrid with 5000 blacks, each of the five years that their treaty was to laſt. This company drew a great many of thoſe ſlaves from Jamaica. From that time the coloniſts had conſtant connections with Mexico and Peru, either by means of the Portugueſe agents, or by the captains of their own ſhips employed in this trade. But this intercourſe was ſomewhat ſlackened by the war, which broke out on account of the ſucceſſion to the throne of Spain.

Ar

At the peace, the Aſſiento treaty alarmed the people of Jamaica. They were afraid that the South Sea company, which was appointed to furniſh the Spaniſh colonies with negroes, would entirely exclude them from all acceſs to the gold mines. All the efforts they made to break this regulation, could not produce any alteration in the meaſures of the Engliſh miniſtry. They wiſely foreſaw that the activity of the Aſſientiſts would excite a new ſpirit for the old ſmuggling trade. This was ſo fully verified, that in 1739, it was the general opinion that Jamaica had drawn fifteen hundred millions of livres (65,625000l.) from the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies.

This illicit trade was carried on in a very ſimple manner. An Engliſh veſſel pretended to be in want of water, wood, or proviſions, that her maſt was broken, that ſhe had ſprung a leak, which could not be diſcovered or ſtopped without unloading. The governor permitted the ſhip to come into the harbour to refit. But for forms ſake, and to diſculpate himſelf to his court, he ordered a ſeal to be affixed to the door of the warehouſe where the goods were depoſited; whilſt another door was left unſealed, through which the things that were exchanged in this trade were carried in and out by ſtealth. When the whole tranſaction was ended, the ſtranger, who was always in want of money, requeſted that he might be permitted to ſell as much as would pay his charges; and it was always granted, though with an appearance of great difficulty. This farce was neceſſary, that the governor or his agents might ſafely diſpoſe in public of what they had previouſly bought in ſecret; as it would always be taken for granted, that what they ſold could be no other than the goods that were allowed to be bought. In this manner were the greateſt cargoes diſpoſed of.

The

BOOK V.

THE court of Madrid thought to put a ſtop to theſe practices, by prohibiting the admiſſion of all foreign ſhips into the Spaniſh harbours on any pretence whatever. But the people of Jamaica ſubſtituted force to artifice, and ſupported themſelves in this trade under the protection of their men of war, allowing the captain five *per cent.* upon every article of which he authorized the ſmuggling between the ſubjects of both crowns, and contrary to their treaty; ſo true it is, that kings in vain enter into agreements, that are inconſiſtent with the reciprocal intereſt of nations.

To this open violation of public order, has ſucceeded a more private and leſs alarming one. The ſhips fitted out at Jamaica, repair to thoſe ports of the Spaniſh coaſt which are leaſt frequented; eſpecially to thoſe of Brew, five miles from Carthagena, and Grout, four miles from Porto-Bello. A man who ſpeaks the language of the country, is immediately put aſhore, to give notice in the adjacent country of the arrival of the ſhips. The news is propagated with amazing ſpeed to the moſt diſtant parts; the merchants haſten to the place, and enter upon the buſineſs, but with ſuch precautions as experience has taught them. The ſhip's company are divided into three parties. Whilſt the firſt is entertaining the purchaſers, and treating them with great civilities, at the ſame time keeping a watchful eye to prevent them from exerciſing their inclination and dexterity in ſtealing; the ſecond is employed in receiving the vanilla, indigo, cochineal, gold and ſilver of the Spaniards, in exchange for ſlaves, quickſilver, ſilks, and other commodities. The third diviviſion is in the mean while under arms upon deck, to provide for the ſafety of the ſhip, and to take care not to admit at once a greater number of men than can be kept in order.

WHEN

When all the buſineſs is done, the Engliſhman returns with his ſtock, which he has commonly doubled, and the Spaniard with his purchaſe, of which he hopes to make as great a profit, or greater. To prevent a diſcovery, he avoids the high roads, and goes through byways, with the negroes he has bought, who carry the goods in ſmall parcels.

This manner of trading had been carried on ſucceſsfully for a long time, to the great emolument of the colonies of both nations, when, as Spain intended, it was greatly obſtructed by ſubſtituting regiſter-ſhips to the galleons. It has gradually diminiſhed, and of late was reduced to fifteen or ſixteen hundred thouſand livres (or an average about 67,800*l.*) *per annum*. The Britiſh miniſtry, wiſhing to reſtore, or recover the profit of it, judged in 1766 that the beſt expedient to repair the loſſes of Jamaica, was to make it a free port.

Immediately the ſhips flocked hither from all parts, to exchange their gold and ſilver, and their commodities, for the manufactures of England. The year before this regulation, the exports from Great-Britain for this iſland had not exceeded 9,351,540 livres (413,379*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*); but this plan muſt increaſe them conſiderably. Freedom of trade is a great allurement to foreigners, and a great ſource of wealth to the nation that opens her ports.

If it had not been for the reſtriction which excludes all commodities of the ſame nature with thoſe of Jamaica, it is moſt probable thoſe of St. Domingo would have taken the ſame courſe with thoſe of Mexico and Peru. What is the reaſon that the ſame government, which is endeavouring to draw into one of its marts the productions of the French Windward iſlands, ſhould deny an entrance to thoſe of a Leeward iſland? Perhaps, it might be feared, that the ſubjects ſhould find means to obtain from a rival, who can venture with impunity

to

BOOK V.

to ſell every thing at lower price thoſe goods which ſhould contribute to keep up their trade with the Spaniſh colonies.

WHETHER this conjecture is well or ill grounded, the Engliſh have not truſted ſo much to the readineſs of the Spaniards to come to their ports, but they have contrived other means of extending their commerce with them. The merchants of Jamaica had formerly ſettled ſome factories in the bay of Honduras, on the Black river, near the Muſquito ſhore. For reaſons unknown to us, they had forſaken them. They have now reſtored them, in the beginning of the year 1766, in hopes of ſupplying the inland provinces of Mexico with proviſions, and if we are not miſinformed, the ſucceſs far ſurpaſſes their expectation.

Jamaica has enriched itſelf by its plantations, ſtill more than by its illegal trade.

YET this fraudulent and precarious trade is a trifle, compared to the immenſe riches which the plantations of Jamaica have produced. The firſt culture which the inhabitants applied to, was that of cocoa, which they found well eſtabliſhed by the Spaniards. It proſpered as long as thoſe plantations laſted, which had been cultivated by a people who made this their principal food and their only traffic. The new planters perceived that they began to decay, and they renewed them, but either for want of care or of ſkill in the new planters, the trees did not ſucceed. They grew tired of the culture, and applied themſelves to that of indigo.

THIS production went on ſucceſsfully, when the parliament thought proper to lay a duty of three livres, eighteen ſols, ſix deniers (3 s. 3d. three farthings), upon every pound of indigo, which then ſold for eleven livres five ſols (9 s. 10d.). If this was evidently an immoderate duty at that time, it grew quite intolerable, when the French competition brought down the price of

the

the commodity to four livres ten ſols (3*l.* 11*d.* ½) a pound. At this period all the indigo plantations fell throughout the Engliſh iſlands, and no where ſo faſt as at Jamaica. The government has ſince endeavoured to retrieve this loſs; they have not only taken off the heavy load with which they had clogged that branch of induſtry, but have encouraged it by a bounty of eleven ſols three deniers, (about 6*d.*) upon every pound of indigo raiſed in the Britiſh ſettlements. This generoſity has ſhewed itſelf too late, and has only occaſioned abuſes. In order to obtain the bounty, the Jamaica people fetch indigo from St. Domingo, and then ſend it over to Great-Britain as the growth of their own plantation. This fraudulent traffic may amount to 1,200,000 livres (52,500*l.*) a year.

THE expence the government is at on this account, cannot be looked upon as a clear loſs, ſince it is of uſe to the nation; but it keeps up that miſtruſt, and we may ſay, that propenſity to cheating, which pecuniary concerns have bred in moſt of our governments, between the ſtate and the ſubjects. Ever ſince the prince has been inceſſantly contriving means to acquire money, the people have been ſtudying artifices to elude the injuſtice of taxes, and to cheat the prince. When one ſide has ſhewn no moderation in their demands, no bounds to taxations, no equity in the repartition, no lenity in the recovery, there have been no longer any ſcruples about the violation of pecuniary laws on the other, nor any honeſty in the payment of the duties, nor uprightneſs in the engagements between the ſubject and the government. Oppreſſion reigned on one hand, and plundering on the other; the finance extorted from commerce, and commerce eluded or cheated the finance. The treaſury pillaged the planters, and the planters impoſed upon the treaſury by falſe entries.

The

BOOK V.

The coloniſt was teazed with taxes, ſervices, and militias, and he rejected this threefold bondage openly and by force when he was able, and when he was not, by clamours and complaints. If England does not ſupply us with all theſe inſtances of the faulty adminiſtration introduced by the ſpirit of finance, Europe can ſhew other ſtates which too fully juſtify this picture.

THE culture of indigo was not yet totally given up at Jamaica, when that of cotton was undertaken. The American iſlands produce cotton ſhrubs of various ſizes, which riſe and grow up without any culture, eſpecially in low and marſhy grounds. Their fleece is of a pale red, ſome paler than others, but ſo ſhort that it cannot be ſpun. None of this is brought to Europe, though it might very well be uſed in making of hats. The little they think proper to pick up, ſerves to make mattraſſes and pillows.

THE cotton ſhrub that ſupplies our manufactures, requires a dry and ſtony ſoil, and thrives beſt in grounds that have already been tilled. Not but that the plant appears more flouriſhing in freſh lands than in thoſe which are exhauſted, but then it is too luxuriant, and as it ſhoots more wood, it bears leſs fruit.

A WESTERN poſition is fitteſt for it. The culture of it begins in March and April, and during the firſt ſpring rains. Holes are made at ſeven or eight feet diſtance from each other, and a few ſeeds thrown in. When they are grown to the height of five or ſix inches all the ſtems are pulled up, except two or three of the ſtouteſt. Theſe are cropped twice before the end of Auguſt. This precaution is the more neceſſary, as the wood bears no fruit till after the ſecond pruning; and if the ſhrub was ſuffered to grow more than four feet high, the crop would not be the greater, nor the fruit ſo eaſily gathered. The ſame method is purſued for three years,

for

for ſo long the ſhrub may continue, if it cannot conveniently be renewed oftener, with the proſpect of an advantage that will compenſate the trouble.

THIS uſeful plant will not thrive if the ground about it is not kept conſtantly weeded. Frequent rains will promote its growth, but they muſt not be inceſſant. Dry weather is particularly neceſſary in the months of March and April, which is the time of gathering the cotton; for it would be diſcoloured and ſpotty if it ſhould prove a wet ſeaſon.

THE cotton ſhrub bears fruit within nine or ten months after it is planted. A flower blows at the extremity of its branches, and the piſtil of this flower turns to a ſhell, of the ſize of a pigeon's egg, which opens, and divides in three, when the cotton is ripe.

WHEN it is all gathered in, the ſeeds muſt be picked out from the fruit with which they are naturally mixed. This is done by means of a cotton mill, which is an engine, compoſed of two rods of hard wood, about eighteen feet long, eighteen lines in circumference, and fluted two lines deep. They are confined at both ends, ſo as to leave no more diſtance between them, than what is neceſſary for the ſeed to ſlip through. At one end is a kind of little millſtone, which being put in motion with the foot, turns the rods in contrary directions. They catch up the cotton, and repel the ſeed contained in it.

WHILST the culture of cotton flagged in the other Engliſh iſlands, it flouriſhed more and more at Jamaica; but we may venture to foretell that it will fall. The parliament, that is to ſay the nation, who knows and adminiſters her own revenues, ſeeing that the cotton of her own colonies was not ſufficient to employ her manufactures, took off the duties upon foreign cottons in

1766.

BOOK V.

1766. The granting ſuch a freedom as muſt increaſe the importation and reduce the price of an unwrought commodity, deſerves the higheſt encomiums. Perhaps, a provident adminiſtration ought to have gone a ſtep further, and have granted a temporary bounty upon all cottons imported from the national ſettlements, to obviate the diſcouragement which may ariſe from foreign competition, and from the reduced price of the commodity. But if the Engliſh are anxious about the ſucceſs of this important article, they need not be ſo for their ginger.

THIS plant, which never grows above two feet high, is rather buſhy. Its leaves exactly reſemble thoſe of ruſhes, only they are ſmaller. It is propagated by ſhoots, which are planted two or three fingers deep about the end of the rainy ſeaſon, and come up in a week's time. When the leaves turn yellow and whiter, the ginger is ripe; they pull it up, and expoſe it to the ſun or wind to dry. The roots, which are the only uſeful part, are flat, broad, of an irregular ſhape, but moſtly reſembling the foot of a gooſe. Their ſubſtance is cloſe, heavy, white, firm, and of the conſiſtence of a turnip.

THE culture of ginger is eaſy, and by no means expenſive: a ſingle man may undertake it. The root has this double advantage, that it will keep many years in the ground without rotting, and as long as we pleaſe after it is gathered, without being in the leaſt injured. But if ginger requires no great labour, it abſorbs a vaſt quantity of nutritive juices; inſomuch that a piece of ground which has borne three or four crops of ginger, is ſo exhauſted of ſalts, that nothing will thrive upon it.

WHEN firſt the Europeans came to the Leeward iſlands, the Caribs made uſe of ginger; but their conſumption in this and in every other article, was ſo ſmall,

that

that they were content with what grew wild. The conquerors though in a hot climate, grew paſſionately fond of this hot ſpice. They ate it in the morning to ſharpen their appetite; they ſerved it up at table; they preſerved in ſeveral different ways; they uſed it after meals to facilitate digeſtion, and at ſea as an antidote againſt the ſcurvy. This faſhion was adopted in Europe, ginger was uſed on every occaſion; it was commonly mixed with pepper, which was then very dear, This eaſtern production fell gradually to a lower price, and ginger grew out of repute. After bearing a conſiderable price, it ſank towards the latter end of the century to ten livres a hundred (8*s.* 9*d.*). In a ſhort time no body cared for it, and this culture was dropped almoſt every where, except at Jamaica.

For the laſt thirteen years, it is computed that this iſland has exported upon an average 649,865 pounds weight a year. Moſt of it has been conſumed in the Britiſh dominions; the reſt has been ſold in the north, at a price which cannot tempt the colonies where the land is not ordinary and poor as at Jamaica.

Besides ginger, this iſland furniſhes Europe with a good quantity of pimento. There are ſeveral ſorts, more or leſs pungent. The tree which bears that ſort called Jamaica pepper, commonly grows upon the mountains, to the height of above thirty feet. It is very ſtrait, moderately thick, and covered with a greyiſh, ſmooth and ſhining bark. The leaves exactly reſemble thoſe of the laurel. The flowers blow at the extremities of the branches, and are ſucceeded by bunches ſomewhat larger than thoſe of the juniper. They are gathered green, and ſpread in the ſun to dry. They turn brown, and acquire a ſpicy ſmell, from whence in England they call pimento all-ſpice. It is an excellent thing to ſtrengthen

BOOK V.

cold ſtomachs that are ſubject to crudities; but ſpices ſhould be cultivated in Aſia, and ſugar in America.

THE art of managing this culture was unknown in Jamaica till the year 1668. It was brought thither by ſome inhabitants of Barbadoes. One of them was poſſeſſed of every requiſite for that kind of produce that depends on man. His name was Thomas Modiford. His capital, together with his ſkill and activity, enabled him to clear an immenſe tract of land, and raiſed him in time to the government of the colony. Yet neither could the ſight of his growing fortune, nor his warm ſollicitations, prevail upon men, accuſtomed to arms and idleneſs to apply to the labours of huſbandry. Twelve hundred unfortunate men, who arrived in 1670 from Surinam, which had juſt been ceded to the Dutch, proved more tractable. Neceſſity inſpired them with reſolution, and their example excited emulation. Theſe beginnings of labour were happily ſupported by the quantity of money that was daily poured into Jamaica, from the uninterrupted ſucceſs of the free-booters. Great part of it was employed in erecting buildings, purchaſing ſlaves, implements of huſbandry, and houſhold goods for the new habitations. The face of things was wholly changed. Jamaica ſoon exported vaſt quantities of ſugar, ſuperior in kind to that of the other Engliſh iſlands. This culture has never leſſened, not even when that of coffee was joined to it.

THIS valuable plant, brought from the Eaſt-Indies, enriched the Dutch and French ſettlements in America, before ever the Engliſh thought of appropriating it to themſelves; and, indeed, it has been adopted only at Jamaica; but that iſland will ſoon furniſh as much as the Britiſh dominions can conſume. The mother country has encouraged this culture, and brought it to this

this pitch, by enacting, that all foreign coffee imported into her dominions, ſhould pay ſix livres (5*s.* 3*d.*) more duty upon every hundred weight, than that imported from her own colonies.

THE commiſſioners for the plantations declared in the houſe of lords in 1734, that the productions of Jamaica, imported the year before amounted but to 12,138,748 livres, 1 ſol, 6 deniers (531,070*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.*$\frac{3}{4}$.) Their value hath ſince riſen to 15,300,000 livres. (669,375*l.*) This revenue is produced by 25,000 hogſheads of ſugar, 2000 bags of cotton, three millions weight of coffee, beſides ſkins, ginger, woods for dying, and other leſſer articles. Theſe are the fruits of the labour of 20,000 white men, and 90,000 blacks, gathered together in a few towns, or diſperſed in nineteen pariſhes. The yearly adminiſtration and defence of the colony amounts to two millions of livres, (87,500*l.*) and in ſome particular circumſtances much more. Her whole capital, in lands, ſlaves, houſes, and moveables of every kind, has been eſtimated at 495,000,000 livres. (21,656,250*l.*) But it is ſcarce credible, that little of this wealth is the property of the planters. Either by misfortunes, by extravagance, or by the eaſe with which they find credit, they have have involved themſelves in prodigious debts to the merchants ſettled on the iſland, and eſpecially to the Jews. May that people, who at their firſt origin were ſlaves, and afterwards became conquerors, and who are now reduced to their former ſtate of ſlavery, or become fugitives for theſe twenty centuries paſt, one day lawfully poſſeſs this or ſome other rich iſland of America, where they may collect all their children, and train them up in peace to huſbandry and commerce, out of the reach of that fanaticiſm which has made them odious to the earth, and that perſecution which has made them pay ſo dear for

BOOK V.

the errors of their worſhip and belief! May the Jews at laſt live happy, free and quiet in ſome corner of the world, ſince they are our brethren by the ties of humanity, and our fathers by the tenets of religion!

IF we may believe ſome who are well acquainted with the ſtate of affairs at Jamaica, no leſs than two thirds of the eſtates are mortgaged. This diſtreſs muſt increaſe, unleſs it is ſtopped by a great and rapid augmentation of the plantations. Whether this is poſſible or probable, ſhall be the ſubject of our next inquiry.

Is it poſſible that the produce of Jamaica ſhould be multiplied?

UPON the moſt moderate computation, the extent of Jamaica appears to be four millions of acres, each 720 feet long, and 72 broad. It has been ſaid that one third of this large ſpace was inhabited and cultivated. The preſent ſtate of the population and cultivation contradicts this aſſertion, though both are more flouriſhing than ever. All the inland parts are a mere deſert. There are no plantations but upon the coaſts, and even theſe are not cultivated. Moſt of the planters poſſeſs immenſe grounds, but hardly one fourth part of them is put to any uſe. All the labour is beſtowed upon 200,000 acres at moſt.

WHEN we conſider, that Jamaica has been long ſince inhabited by an induſtrious and ſkilful people; that the piratical war, and the contraband trade, have at all times poured in immenſe treaſures; that the means of culture had never been wanting; that for this long time, they have had recourſe to manure; that their roads and harbours are prodigiouſly multiplied for exportation; that the mother country and all Europe have received their produce; that notwithſtanding all theſe advantages, land has never ſold for more than one third of what it has brought in the other iſlands; when we conſider maturely all theſe circumſtances, we are tempted to conclude

clude that the ſoil of Jamaica muſt be in general bad, or very indifferent.

THE ſea ſide, which, for the conveniency of tranſport, naturally claims the preference for ſugar plantations, muſt be ſuppoſed to have had all the pains taken with it, and to have been improved to the higheſt degree, that it was capable of. The exceſſive and conſtant coolneſs of the mountains, would be ſo hurtful to all productions, and ſo deſtructive to the ſlaves, that it would be in vain to attempt any plantations there. The intermediate ſpace between the mountains, and the ſea coaſts, is often extremely dry, but here and there it is interſperſed with valleys, hills and plains, where it plainly appears that the Indians planted their maize, and the Spaniards bred their cattle. It may be preſumed that theſe lands, properly managed, would yield abundance of cotton, coffee, cocoa, and indigo; articles to which the Engliſh do not ſeem hitherto to have paid a proper attention. But theſe riches are not ſufficient to make any colony flouriſh in the higheſt degree. Nothing will effect this at preſent in American iſlands but ſugar.

THOUGH this commodity is cultivated all round the iſland of Jamaica, it is more particularly ſo on the ſouthern coaſt, which the Spaniards inhabited, and where their conquerors have multiplied more than in any other part. Their inducement was a ſafe and commodious road, where a thouſand men of war may ride. This ineſtimable advantage laid the foundation of Port Royal, which, though it ſtands on ſandy ground that affords none of the neceſſaries of life, not even freſh water, became a famous city in leſs than thirty years. This ſplendor was owing to a conſtant and quick circulation of buſineſs, conſiſting of the growth of the iſland, the captures of the free-booters, and the contraband

BOOK V.

trade carried on with the continent. The world can ſhew few cities where the thirſt of wealth and pleaſures has united more opulence and more corruption.

Jamaica experiences a great calamity. Conſequences of this cataſtrophe.

NATURE in one moment deſtroyed this brilliant appearance. The ſky, which was clear and ſerene, at once grew turbid and red; a rumbling noiſe was heard under ground, ſpreading from the mountains to the plain; the rocks ſplit; hills that were at a great diſtance came cloſe together; infectious lakes appeared on the ſpots where whole mountains had been ſwallowed up; whole plantations were removed ſeveral miles from the place where they ſtood; enormous chaſms were opened, from whence guſhed out huge columns of water that corrupted the air; many habitations diſappeared, being either ſunk into the caverns of the earth, or overturned. The ſea was ſoon covered with trees, which the earth had thrown up, or the winds blown away. Thirteen thouſand lives were loſt by this dreadful earthquake, and three thouſand by a contagious diſtemper that broke out ſoon after. It is ſaid that ſince this cataſtrophe of the 7th of June 1692, the climate of Jamaica is not ſo fine, the ſky not ſo clear, nor the ſoil ſo fruitful as it was before. The mountains are not ſo high, and the iſland is lower than it was. It is affirmed that moſt of the wells can be reached with ropes ſhorter by two or three feet than were required before this terrible event: a monument of the fragility of conqueſt, which ſhould have taught the Europeans not to truſt to the poſſeſſion of a world that trembles under their feet, and ſeems to ſlip out of their rapacious hands.

IN this general overthrow, Port Royal was waſhed away and deſtroyed; all the ſhips in the road were ſhattered to pieces, or thrown a conſiderable diſtance upon dry land. But this city was too advantageouſly ſituated to be given up. The people had ſcarce recovered from their

their conſternation, when they ſet about rebuilding it. But theſe labours were fruitleſs. The riſing walls were again blown down by a hurricane. Port Royal, like Jeruſalem of old, could never be rebuilt. The earth ſeemed only digged to ſwallow it up. By a ſingularity which baffles all human efforts and reaſonings, the only houſes that are left ſtanding after this ſubverſion, remain upon a narrow ſlip of land, which advances ſeveral miles into the ſea, Thus the land overturns edifices, to which the inconſtant ocean furniſhes as it were a ſolid foundation. Theſe few buildings, which lie open to invaſion, are defended by one of the beſt fortreſſes in America.

THE inhabitants of Port Royal, diſheartened by theſe repeated calamities, retired to Kingſton, which is ſituated in the ſame bay. By their induſtry and activity, this town ſoon became a pleaſant and flouriſhing city, and it is now the center of all the buſineſs. If it is not ſo briſk as it was formerly at Port Royal, it is becauſe the colony has not now the ſame connections abroad. The new mart lay open to ſecure the merchants from all uneaſineſs. It is but within theſe few years that it has been ſurrounded with works able to defend it from inſult.

YET Kingſton, notwithſtanding its progreſs, never became the capital; this title is ſtill given to St. Jago de la Vega, which the Engliſh call Spaniſh town. It is ſituated ſome leagues from the ſea, upon the river Cobra, which, though not navigable, is the fineſt in the iſland. This was the governor's reſidence, and the place where the general aſſembly and the courts of juſtice were held. The principal officers and the richeſt planters reſided there, which made it a very ſociable place, abounding with all the conveniencies and luxuries of life.

BOOK V.

Such was the ſtate of things in 1756, when Admiral Knowles judged it to be more for the advantage of the colony, that the government ſhould be removed to the center of buſineſs. His opinion was adopted by the legiſlative body of the iſland, who agreed that for the future every thing relative to adminiſtration ſhould be tranſacted at Kingſton. Perſonal hatred againſt the projector of this plan; the harſhneſs of the meaſures he took to carry it into execution; the attachment moſt people are apt to take for places as well as things; numberleſs private intereſts that muſt be affected by this alteration; all theſe cauſes indiſpoſed many people againſt a ſcheme, which was, indeed, liable to ſome inconveniencies, but was founded on deciſive reaſons, and attended with great advantages. The promoters of the new ſyſtem, on their ſide, ſupported it with a contemptuous haughtineſs. This oppoſition of ſentiments produced two parties, and the animoſity between them, which was violent at firſt, has ſtill gone on increaſing. Theſe diviſions are ſufficient to inflame the whole colony. But they have much more to fear from the fierce enemies who threaten them inceſſantly in the very heart of the iſland.

Jamaica has every thing to fear from a republic of negroes, whoſe independence ſhe has been compelled to acknowledge.

When the Spaniards were compelled to give up Jamaica to the Engliſh, they left behind them a number of negroes and mulattos, who being weary of their ſlavery, took a reſolution to retire into the mountains, there to preſerve that liberty which they had recovered by the expulſion of their tyrants. Having entered into ſome agreements neceſſary to preſerve their union, they planted maize and cocoa in the moſt inacceſſible places of their retreat. But the impoſſibility of ſubſiſting till harveſt, obliged them to come down into the plain, to pilfer for ſuſtenance. The conquerors bore this plunder the more impatiently, as they had nothing to ſpare, and declared war againſt them. Many were maſſacred; the greater

part

part ſubmitted, and only fifty or ſixty fled back to their rock, there to live or die free.

POLICY, which ſees every thing, but is never moved by compaſſion, wanted utterly to exterminate or reduce this handful of fugitives, who had eſcaped from ſlavery or carnage; but the ſoldiery, who were either periſhing or ſpent with fatigue, did not reliſh ſuch a deſtructive ſcheme, which was ſtill to coſt them more blood. It was dropt for fear of a revolt. This condeſcenſion was attended with fatal conſequences. All the ſlaves grown deſperate by the hardſhips they underwent, or the dread of puniſhment, ſoon found a ſhelter in the woods, where they were ſure of meeting with companions ready to aſſiſt them. The number of fugitives increaſed daily. In a ſhort time they deſerted by troops, after having murdered their maſters, and ſtripped and ſet fire to the habitations. In vain did they ſend active partiſans after them, offering a reward of 900 livres (39*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*) for the head of every negro they ſhould kill. This ſeverity availed them nothing, and the deſertion became the more general.

THE rebels grew more daring as their numbers increaſed. Till the year 1690, they had only fled, but when they thought themſelves ſtrong enough to attack, they fell upon the Engliſh plantations in ſeparate bands, and committed horrid ravages. In vain were they driven back to their mountains with loſs; in vain were forts erected and manned at proper diſtances, to prevent their inroads; notwithſtanding all this expence, and theſe precautions, they renewed their depredations from time to time. The reſentment, which the violation of the rights of nature by barbarous policy, excited in theſe blacks, inſpired them with ſuch fury, that the white peõple who had bought them in order, as they ſaid, to

cut

BOOK V.

cut off the root of the evil, reſolved in 1735 to employ all the forces of the colony, to deſtroy a juſtly implacable enemy.

IMMEDIATELY the military laws took place of all civil adminiſtration. All the coloniſts formed themſelves into regular corps. They marched forward towards the rebels by different roads. One party undertook to attack the town of Nauny, which the blacks had built in the blue mountains. With cannon, a town built without regularity and defended without artillery, may ſoon be deſtroyed; but the ſucceſs of the other enterprizes was frequently doubtful, ſometimes attended with much loſs. The ſlaves, more elated by one triumph than diſheartened by ten defeats, were proud of conſidering their former tyrants, merely as enemies they were to fight with. If they were beaten, they had at leaſt ſome revenge. Their blood was at leaſt mixed with that of their barbarous maſters. They ruſhed againſt the ſword of the European, to plunge a dagger into his breaſt. At laſt, overpowered by numbers, or by the dexterity of their antagoniſts, the fugitives intrenched themſelves in inacceſſible places, where they diſperſed in ſmall bands, fully determined never to ſtir out, and well aſſured they could ſtand their ground. At laſt, after various battles and excurſions, that laſted nine months, the Engliſh gave up all thoughts of ſubduing them.

RHODES HOUSE
OXFORD
LIBRARY

THUS, ſooner or later, will any people, made deſperate by tyranny, or the oppreſſion of conquerors, always get the better of numerous and well-diſciplined armies; if they have but reſolution enough to endure hunger rather than the yoke, to die rather than live in bondage, and if they chuſe rather to ſee their nation extinct than enſlaved. Let them abandon the field to the multitude of troops, to the train of war, the diſplay of proviſions, ammunition, and hoſpitals: let them retire into the

the heart of the mountains, without baggage, without covering, without ſtores; nature will provide for them and defend them. There let them remain for years, till the climate, idleneſs, and intemperance, have deſtroyed thoſe ſwarms of foreign invaders, who have no booty to expect, nor any laurels to gather. Let them now and then pour down upon them, like the torrents of their own mountains, ſurprize them in their tents, and ravage their out-lines. Laſtly, let them deſpiſe the opprobrious names of robbers and murderers, which will be plentifully beſtowed upon them by people baſe enough to arm themſelves againſt a handful of huntſmen, and weak enough to be unable to conquer them.

SUCH was the conduct of the blacks with the Engliſh. Theſe, weary of excurſions and fruitleſs armaments, fell into univerſal deſpondency. The pooreſt among them dared not accept the lands which the government offered them at the foot of the mountains. Even the ſettlements at a greater diſtance from theſe formidable blacks, were neglected or forſaken. Many parts of the iſland, which from their appearance bid fair for being ſome of the moſt fruitful, were left in their rude ſtate; and the woods and thickets, with which they were covered, became the terror of the inhabitants, by affording a retreat to the rebels, who were now inured to war.

IN this ſituation was the colony, when Trelawney was appointed governor. This prudent and humane commander, well knew, that a ſet of men, who for near a century paſt, lived upon wild fruits, went naked, and expoſed to the inclemency of the weather; who, ever at war with an aſſailant ſtronger than themſelves and well armed, never ceaſed fighting for the defence of their liberty; that ſuch a ſet of men would never be ſubdued by open force. He therefore had recourſe to pacific

BOOK V.

pacific overtures. He offered them not only lands to cultivate, which ſhould be their own property, but likewiſe liberty and independence. He conſented that they ſhould be governed by chiefs of their own chuſing, but that theſe chiefs ſhould hold their commiſſions of the governor of the iſland, and act under his direction. This plan, unheard of before among negroes, was accepted, and the treaty concluded in 1738, to the joy of both parties. It ſeemed to promiſe a laſting tranquillity; but there was ſomething in the ſtipulation which laid the foundation of future diſturbances.

WHILST Trelawney was negociating this accommodation in the name of the crown, the general aſſembly of the colony had propoſed their ſeparate plan to the independent negroes. This was, that they ſhould engage to harbour no more fugitive ſlaves, on condition that a ſtipulated ſum ſhould be paid them for every ſuch deſerter, whom they ſhould inform againſt, or bring back to the colony. This agreement, repugnant to humanity, we may be ſure has not been religiouſly obſerved. They have mutually accuſed each other of diſhoneſty. The negroes, but ill paid in this ſhameful compact, have ſeveral times begun their ravages afreſh.

WHETHER fired by their example, or exaſperated at the ill uſage they met with, the negro ſlaves reſolved to be free likewiſe. Whilſt the flames of war kindled in Europe were ſpreading in America, theſe wretches agreed, in 1760, to take up arms all in one day, murder their tyrants, and ſeize upon the government. But their impatience for liberty diſconcerted the unanimity of the plot. Some of the conſpirators began the execution before the appointed time, ſtabbed their maſters, and ſet fire to their houſes; but finding themſelves unable to reſiſt the whole force of the iſland, which their

their premature exploit had collected in a moment, they fled to the mountains. From this impenetrable receſs they were inceſſantly making deſtructive inroads. The Engliſh, in their diſtreſs, were reduced to court the aſſiſtance of the wild negroes, whoſe independence they had been obliged to acknowledge by a ſolemn treaty. They even bribed them, and promiſed a certain ſum for every ſlave they ſhould kill with their own hands. Thoſe baſe Africans, unworthy of the liberty they had recovered, were not aſhamed to ſell the blood of their brethren: they purſued them, and killed many of them by ſurprize. At laſt the conſpirators, weakened and betrayed by their own nation, remained a long time ſilent and inactive.

The fire of the conſpiracy was thought to be effectually extinguiſhed, when it broke out again with redoubled fury. Their numbers had increaſed by deſerters from the ſeveral plantations. The regular troops, the militia, and a large body of ſailors, all marched in purſuit of the ſlaves; they fought and beat them in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes; many were ſlain or taken priſoners, and the reſt diſperſed into the woods and rocks. All the priſoners were ſhot, hanged, or burnt. Thoſe who were ſuppoſed to be the ringleaders of the conſpiracy, were tied alive to gibbets, and there left to periſh ſlowly, expoſed to the ſcorching ſun of the torrid zone; a far more painful and more terrible death than that of being burnt alive. Yet their tyrants enjoyed the torments of theſe miſerable wretches, whoſe only crime was an attempt to recover by revenge thoſe rights which avarice and inhumanity had robbed them of.

The meaſures that were taken to prevent future inſurrections, were dictated by the ſame ſpirit of barbarity. A ſlave is whipped in the public places if he plays at any game whatſoever, if he preſumes to go a hunting, or to ſell any thing but milk or fiſh. He cannot ſtir out

BOOK V.

out of his maſter's plantation, unleſs attended by a white man, or with an expreſs permiſſion in writing. If he beats a drum, or makes uſe of any other noiſy inſtrument, his maſter is condemned to pay a penalty of 225 livres. (9*l.* 16*s.* 10*d.* halfpenny.) Thus do the Engliſh, who are ſo jealous of their own liberty, ſport with that of other men. To this exceſs of barbarity has the negro trade brought the uſurpers of America. Such is the progreſs of injuſtice and violence. To conquer the new world, its inhabitants muſt be ſlaughtered. To replace them, negroes muſt be bought, as they alone are able to endure the climate and the labours of America. To remove theſe Africans from their native country, who were deſigned to cultivate the land without having any poſſeſſions in it, it was neceſſary to ſeize them by force, and make them ſlaves. To keep them in ſubjection, they muſt be treated with ſeverity. To prevent their revolt, the natural conſequence of ſeverity and ſervitude, theſe men whom we have made deſperate, muſt be reſtrained by capital puniſhments, by hard uſage, and atrocious laws.

But cruelty itſelf has a period in its own deſtructive nature. In an inſtant it may ceaſe. An enemy who ſhould be ſo fortunate as to land at Jamaica, would ſoon convey arms to theſe men, who are full of rancour againſt their oppreſſors, and only wait a favourable opportunity to riſe againſt them. The French, not conſidering the revolt of the blacks in one colony, would probably ſpirit up all the reſt, will be the firſt to bring on ſuch a revolution in time of war. The Engliſh, finding themſelves between two fires, will be diſmayed, their ſtrength and courage will fail them, and Jamaica will fall a prey to ſlaves and conquerors, who will contend for dominion with freſh enormities. What a train of miſchief

miſchief does injuſtice bring along with it! Crimes beget crimes; blood is productive of blood; and the earth becomes a ſcene of deſolation, tears and lamentations, where ſucceſſive generations riſe to imbrue their hands in blood, to tear out each other's bowels, and to lay each other in the duſt.

Advantages of Jamaica for war. Its diſadvantages for navigation.

THE loſs of Jamaica, however, would be a heavy one for England. Nature has placed this iſland at the entrance of the gulph of Mexico, and made it a kind of key to that rich country. All ſhips going from Carthagena to the Havannah, muſt paſs that way; it is more within reach of the ſeveral trading ports on the continent, than any other iſland; the many excellent roads with which it is ſurrounded, facilitate the launching of men of war on all ſides of the iſland. Theſe ſeveral advantages are balanced by ſome inconveniences.

IF it is eaſy to get at Jamaica by the trade winds, by taking the leſſer Leeward iſlands, it is not ſo eaſy to get out, whether you take the ſtreights of Bahama or the windward paſſage.

BY the firſt one has the full advantage of the wind for two hundred leagues; but as ſoon as Cape St. Anthony is doubled, we meet the ſame wind againſt us that before was favourable: ſo that more time is loſt than was gained, and there is alſo a riſque of being taken by the guards coſtas of the Havannah. This danger is ſucceeded by another, which is the ſhoals on the coaſt of Florida, towards which the winds and currents drive with great violence. The Elizabeth, an Engliſh man of war, would infallibly have been loſt there in 1746, had not Captain Edwards ventured into the Havannah. It was in time of war, and the port belonged to the enemy. "I come, ſaid the captain to the governor, "to deliver up my ſhip, my ſailors, my ſoldiers, and myſelf into your hands; I only aſk the lives

of

BOOK V.

"of my men." "No," ſaid the Spaniſh commander, "I will not be guilty of ſo diſhonorable an action. "Had we taken you in fight, in open ſea, or upon our "coaſts, your ſhip would be ours, and you would be "our priſoners. But as you are driven in by ſtreſs of "weather, and are come hither for fear of being caſt "away, I do and ought to forget that my nation is at "war with yours. You are men, and ſo are we: you "are in diſtreſs and have a right to our pity. You are "at liberty to unload and refit your veſſel, and if you "want it, you may trade in this port to pay your "charges; you may then go away, and you will have "a paſs to carry you ſafe beyond the Bermudas. If "after this you are taken, you will be a lawful prize; "but at this moment, I ſee in Engliſhmen only ſtrang-"ers for whom humanity claims our aſſiſtance." What a noble inſtance of Spaniſh generoſity is this!

THE other way is attended with no leſs difficulty and danger. It terminates at a ſmall iſland, that the Engliſh call Crooked iſland, which lies eighty leagues off Jamaica. Ships that come that way muſt commonly ſtrive againſt the eaſterly wind through the whole paſſage, coaſt along cloſe under St. Domingo, to keep clear of the flats of Cuba, and then paſs the ſtreights, between the points of theſe two great iſlands, where it is very difficult to eſcape being intercepted by their privateers or their men of war. The navigators coming from the Lucay's do not meet with theſe obſtructions.

Settlement of the Engliſh at Lucay's or Bahama iſlands.

THESE iſlands, the firſt which Columbus diſcovered in America, are four or five hundred in number. Moſt of them are no more than rocks juſt above water. Some were inhabited by ſavages, who were all ſent to periſh in the mines of St. Domingo. Not one of them had a ſingle inhabitant in 1672, when the Engliſh landed a few men

men on that called Providence, who were all deſtroyed by the Spaniards ſeven or eight years after. This diſaſter did not deter other Engliſhmen from ſettling there in 1690. They had ſcarce built 160 houſes, when the French and Spaniards jointly fell upon them in 1703, deſtroyed their plantations, and carried off their negroes. The coloniſts, diſcouraged by the total loſs of their ſubſtance, went elſewhere to ſeek employment, and were ſucceeded by pirates of their nation, who after ſcouring the coaſts of Africa, the remoteſt ſeas of Aſia, and chiefly the latitudes of North-America, found a ſafe and commodious retreat in the iſland. Here they lived unmoleſted for a long time, inſulting even the Britiſh flag, till George I. rouſed by the clamours of his people, and the wiſhes of his parliament, in 1719, fitted out a ſufficient force to ſubdue them. The greater part accepted the proffered amneſty, and increaſed the colony which Woods Rogers brought with him from Europe.

It may now conſiſt of 3000 perſons, half of whom are ſettled at Providence, and the reſt diſperſed in the other iſlands. Accuſtomed to live upon plunder, they retained too much of their former diſpoſitions, and this accounts for the negligent and languid ſtate of their agriculture; though the variety of their ſoil is a conſtant incentive to their induſtry, their ambition, and even their fancies. It is well known, that in general it is not fertile, but there are parts ſufficiently rich to inſure the property of a greater population. Theſe iſlands, which for want of productions have hitherto been uſeleſs to Great-Britain, may in time be ſerviceable from their ſituation, if they are not in point of trade.

The Lucay's, which on one ſide are ſeparated from Florida only by the channel of Bahama, form on the other a long ridge, which terminates nearly at the point

BOOK V.

of Cuba. There ſome other iſlands, called Caicos, or Turks begin, lately brought under the yoke of the Engliſh navy, which continue the chain as far as the middle of the northern coaſt of St. Domingo. Between theſe ſeveral iſlands, there are five paſſages for firſt-rate ſhips. Turk's iſland and the great Caicos have lately been fortified by the Engliſh, ſo that they afford a good anchorage and a ſafe retreat to their privateers, and command the narrow channel, which divides them from St. Domingo. By this means moſt of the ſhips coming from that rich iſland, muſt fall into the hands of the Engliſh. If they have not built any forts on the other iſlands, it is becauſe they think the ſuperiority of their manœuvres is ſufficient without this aſſiſtance, to obſtruct the navigation of their rivals. They are not ſo ſanguine in their expectations with regard to Bermudas.

Settlement of the Engliſh at the Bermudas.

THIS cluſter of iſlands, diſtant about 300 leagues from the Leeward iſlands, was diſcovered in 1527 by the Spaniard John Bermudas, who gave it his name, but did not land there. Never had this number of iſlands been inhabited by any human being, when ſixty Engliſhmen landed there in 1612. The population increaſed conſiderably, becauſe the advantages of the climate were greatly exaggerated. People went thither from the Leeward iſlands for the recovery of their health, and from the northern colonies to enjoy their fortune in peace. Many royaliſts retired there in expectation of the death of their oppreſſor Cromwell. Waller among the reſt, that charming poet, who was an enemy to that tyrannical deliverer, croſſed the ſeas, and celebrated theſe fortunate iſlands, inſpired by the influence of the air, and the beauty of the proſpects, which are always favourable to the poet. He imparted his enthuſiaſm to the fair ſex. The Engliſh ladies never thought themſelves

ſelves fine or well dreſſed, but in ſmall Bermuda hats made with palm leaves.

But at laſt the charm was broken, and theſe iſlands fell into that contempt which their inſignificance deſerved. They are very numerous, and their whole compaſs is but ſix or ſeven leagues. The ſoil is very indifferent, and has not a ſingle ſpring to water it. There is no water to drink but what is taken from wells and ciſterns. Maize, vegetables, and excellent fruits, afford plenty of wholeſome food, but they have no commodities for exportation; yet chance has collected under this pure and temperate ſky, four or five thouſand inhabitants, poor, but happy in being unobſerved. They have no outward connections but by ſome ſhips paſſing from the northern to the ſouthern colonies, which ſometimes ſtop to take refreſhments in theſe peaceful iſlands.

Some attempts have been made to improve the circumſtances of theſe people by induſtry. It has been wiſhed that they would try to raiſe ſilk, then cochineal, and laſtly, that they would plant vineyards. But theſe ſchemes have been only thought of. Theſe iſlanders, conſulting their own happineſs, have confined their ſedentary arts to the weaving of ſails. This manufactory, ſo well adapted to plain and moderate men, grows daily more and more flouriſhing.

For upwards of a century paſt, they have alſo built ſhips at the Bermudas, that are not to be equalled for ſwiftneſs and durableneſs, and are in great requeſt, eſpecially for privateers. They are made of a kind of cedar, called by the French Acajou. They have endeavoured to imitate them at Jamaica and in the Bahama iſlands, where they had plenty of materials, which were grown ſcarce and dear in the old docks; but theſe ſhips are, and muſt be far inferior to their models.

BOOK V.

THE principal inhabitants of the Bermuda iſlands have formed a ſociety in 1765, the ſtatutes of which are, perhaps, the moſt reſpectable monument that ever dignified humanity. Theſe virtuous citizens have engaged themſelves to form a library of all books of huſbandry, in whatever language they have been written; to procure to all capable perſons, of both ſexes, an employment ſuitable to their diſpoſition; to beſtow a reward on every man who has introduced into the colony any new art, or contributed to the improvement of any one already known; to give a penſion to every daily workman, who after having aſſiduouſly continued his labour, and maintained a good character for forty years, ſhall not have been able to lay by a ſtock ſufficient to allow him to paſs his latter days in quiet; and laſtly, to indemnify every inhabitant of Bermuda, who ſhall have been oppreſſed either by the miniſter or the magiſtrate.

MAY theſe advantages ever be preſerved to theſe induſtrious though indigent people; happy in their labour and in their poverty, which keeps their morals untainted. They enjoy the benefits of a pure and ſerene ſky, with health and with peace of mind. The poiſon of luxury has never infected them. They are not themſelves addicted to envy, nor do they excite it in others. The rage of ambition and war is extinguiſhed upon their coaſts, as the ſtorms of the ocean that ſurround them are broken. The virtuous man would willingly croſs the ſeas to enjoy the ſight of their frugality. They are totally unacquainted with what paſſes in the part of the world we live in, and it will be happy for them to remain in their ignorance.

ENGLAND drew from all her flouriſhing colonies but juſt ſugar enough for her own conſumption, and only part of the coffee and cotton that was wanted at home, no cocoa, and no indigo. Her late conqueſts in America have

have enriched her commerce with ſome additional articles of exportation.

The Engliſh take poſſeſſion of the iſland of Tobago, which had been occupied by the Dutch and by the French.

AT the head of her new acquiſitions ſtands the iſland of Tobago, which meaſures about thirty leagues round. It is not, as moſt of the other Caribbee iſlands, full of barren rocks, or unwholeſome moraſſes. Fine even plains are here crowned with hills, whoſe gentle aſcent is every where fit for tillage. From theſe hills flow innumerable ſprings, moſt of which ſeem purpoſely intended to turn the ſugar-mills. The ſoil, which is ſometimes ſandy, is conſtantly black and deep. There are ſafe and commodious harbours along the north and weſt ſides of the iſland, which is not expoſed to thoſe dreadful hurricanes that are ſo deſtructive in other parts. Poſſibly, it owes this ineſtimable advantage to the vicinity of the continent.

TOBAGO has formerly been exceedingly populous, if we may credit tradition; but its authority is rather doubtful. The inhabitants long withſtood the fierce and frequent attacks of the ſavages from the continent, who were ſtubborn and irreconcileable enemies. At laſt, wearied out with theſe inceſſant inroads, they diſperſed into the adjacent iſlands.

THAT which they had forſaken, lay open to invaſion from Europe. Two hundred natives of Fleſſingen landed there in 1632, to lay the foundation of a Dutch colony. The neighbouring Indians joined with the Spaniards of Trinity iſland, to oppoſe an eſtabliſhment that gave umbrage to both. Whoever attempted to ſtop their fury, was murdered or taken priſoner; and the few who eſcaped into the woods, ſoon deſerted the iſland.

FOR twenty years the Dutch forgot a ſettlement which was only noted for the diſaſters of its origin. In 1654, a freſh colony was ſent there, which was driven away in 1666. The Engliſh were ſoon deprived of this

BOOK V.

conqueſt by the French; but Lewis XIV. ſatisfied with having conquered it, reſtored it to his ally the republic of Holland. This ſettlement ſucceeded no better than the other farming colonies of that commercial nation. The motives that determine ſo many perſons from other countries to go to America, ought never to have influenced the Dutch. Their own country affords every poſſible advantage for trade, and they have no need to go abroad to make their fortune. A happy toleration, purchaſed like their liberty, with rivers of blood, at laſt leaves conſcience free, ſo that no religious ſcruples can induce timorous minds to baniſh themſelves from their native country. The government makes ſuch ample proviſion for the relief and employment of the poor, that none are under a neceſſity of going abroad, and expoſing themſelves to the hardſhips of a climate, which ſeldom fails to deſtroy the new comers. Tobago, therefore, never had more than 1200 men, employed in the culture of a little tobacco, cotton and indigo, and of ſix ſugar plantations.

THE colony was confined to this ſcanty exertion of induſtry, when it was attacked by the very ſame nation that had reſtored it to its former rights of poſſeſſion and property. In the month of February 1677, a French fleet, deſtined to ſeize upon Tobago, fell in with the Dutch fleet that was ſent out to oppoſe this expedition. They engaged in the very road of the iſland, which became famous from this memorable action in an age abounding with great events. The obſtinacy and valour on both ſides was ſuch, that they ſtill continued fighting, when every ſhip was diſmaſted, and unrigged, and no ſailors left to work them. The engagement did not ceaſe till twelve veſſels were burnt, and a great number ſunk. The aſſailers loſt the feweſt men, and the defendants kept poſſeſſion of the iſland.

BUT

BUT d'Eſtrees, who was determined to take it, landed there the ſame year in the month of December. There was then no fleet to obſtruct or retard his progreſs. A bomb thrown from his camp, blew up their powder magazine. This proved, as it generally does, a deciſive ſtroke; and the enemy, unable to reſiſt, ſurrendered at diſcretion. The conquerors availed themſelves to the utmoſt of the right of war: not content with diſmantling the fortifications, they burnt the plantations, ſeized upon all the ſhips in the harbour, and tranſported the inhabitants from the iſland. The conqueſt of this place was ſecured to France by the peace that ſoon followed an action in which defeat was attended with no marks of diſgrace and victory with no advantage.

THE court of Verſailles neglected this important iſland to ſuch a degree, as not to ſend a ſingle man thither. Perhaps, in the delirium of falſe grandeur, they beheld with indifference whatever was merely profitable. They even entertained an unfavourable opinion of Tobago, and imagined it was only a barren rock. This error gained ground from the behaviour of the French, who finding themſelves too numerous at Martinico, went over to the iſlands of St. Lucia, St. Vincent and Dominica. Theſe were precarious poſſeſſions, and not very eligible as to the ſoil. Should not the preference naturally have been given to an iſland where the land was better, and the property inconteſtable? Such was the reaſoning of a government, which was not then ſufficiently enlightened concerning the trade and plantations of the colonies, to diſcern the true motives of this diſlike the ſubjects had to Tobago.

AN infant colony, eſpecially when it is founded with ſlender means, cannot ſubſiſt without immediate aſſiſtance. No progreſs is to be expected, but as the firſt pro-

BOOK V.

ductions find conſumers. The productions are generally of a common ſort, will not pay the charges of exportation to any diſtance, and, therefore, will hardly ſell but in the neighbourhood, and ought inſenſibly and by moderate profits, to lead to the undertaking of thoſe great cultures which are the object of commerce between Europe and the Leeward iſlands. Now, Tobago is too remote from the great French ſettlements, to attract inhabitants by ſuch a gradation of ſucceſs. They will give the preference to leſs fruitful iſlands, that are within reach of other colonies.

THE low condition into which it was fallen did not prevent it from attracting the attention of England. That proud iſland, which thinks herſelf the queen of all others, becauſe ſhe is the moſt flouriſhing, pretended to have an undoubted right to that of Tobago, becauſe it had once been in her poſſeſſion for ſix months. Her forces have confirmed her pretenſions, and the peace of 1763 has juſtified the ſucceſs of her arms, by ceding to her a poſſeſſion which ſhe will turn to better account than the French ever did.

ALMOST all the ſettlements in the Leeward iſlands have proved fatal to the firſt coloniſts, who acting at a venture, without the concurrence of the mother country, committed perpetual blunders. Their greedineſs would not ſuffer them to follow the method of the natives, who, to abate the influence of a conſtant ſcorching ſun, uſed to ſeparate the ſmall parcels of land which they were forced to clear, with large ſpaces covered with trees and ſhady thickets. Theſe ſavages, inſtructed by experience, fixed their dwellings in the middle of the woods, to preſerve themſelves from the quick and dangerous exhalations of a ground newly turned up.

THE

THE deſtroyers of this wiſe people, being too eager after their profits, deſpiſed this method as too ſlow, and being impatient to cultivate all, precipitately cut down whole foreſts. Upon this thick vapours aroſe from the ground, which at firſt was heated by the rays of the ſun. Theſe increaſed as the earth was ſtirred up for ſowing and planting. Their malignant particles inſinuated themſelves into every pore, and every organ of the huſbandman, who by hard labour was conſtantly kept in a profuſe perſpiration. The circulation of the fluids was ſtopped, all the viſcera were dilated, the body ſwelled, the ſtomach could no longer perform its functions, and death enſued. Thoſe who eſcaped theſe peſtilential influences by day, loſt their lives by ſleeping in huts haſtily run up upon a freſh ſoil, where vegetation was too active, and ſo unwholeſome that it conſumed the men before it could nouriſh the plants.

FROM theſe obſervations it appears, that the following would be the beſt plan which could be purſued in the eſtabliſhing of a new colony. At our firſt arrival, it ſhould be obſerved what winds are moſt common in thoſe parts, and it would be found that they blow regularly from the ſouth-eaſt and north-eaſt. If we were at liberty to chuſe, and met with no obſtacle from the nature of the ground, we ſhould take care not to fix on the leeward ſide, leſt the wind ſhould be continually bringing to us the vapours of the new-tilled grounds, and infect from the exhalations of the new plantations a piece of land that might have been purified in time. Our colony ſhould, therefore, be founded on the windward ſide of whatever country we mean to cultivate. Firſt all the habitations ſhould be built in the wood, and not a tree be ſuffered to be felled about them. The woods are wholeſome; the refreſhing ſhade they afford, and the

BOOK V.

the cool air we breathe, even in the heat of the day, are a preſervative againſt that exceſſive perſpiration, which is the deſtruction of moſt Europeans, by the dryneſs and acrimony of an inflammable blood, deprived of its fluid parts. We ſhould keep fires in the huts all night, to diſpel any noxious air that might have entered. This cuſtom which is conſtantly practiſed in ſome parts of Africa, would be as ſucceſsful in America, where the climate is much the ſame.

After having taken theſe precautions, we might begin to cut down the woods, but it ſhould be at leaſt at fifty toiſes diſtance from the huts. When the ground was laid bare, the ſlaves ſhould not be ſent out to their work till ten o'clock in the morning, when the ſun has had time to divide the vapours, and the wind to drive them away. The four hours loſt after ſun riſe, would be fully compenſated by ſparing the ſtrength of the labourers, and the preſervation of human kind. This attention ſhould be continued as long as any lands are clearing or ſowing, till the ground was thoroughly purged and ſettled, when the people might with ſafety be out at all hours. Experience has already juſtified the neceſſity of all theſe meaſures.

The Engliſh having firſt ſettled on the leeward ſide of Tobago, they died in great numbers, and loſt a great number of ſlaves, tho' they all came at the ſame time from the neighbouring colonies. Grown wiſer by this diſaſter, they removed to windward, and the mortality ceaſed. This ſettlement, which was to have been entered upon immediately after the peace, has been greatly retarded, becauſe the cuſtom that prevails in England, of ſelling the lands of their iſlands, is attended with numberleſs forms, which have prevented the clearing of them. It was not till the year 1766 that 40,000 acres of land have been allotted, divided into lots of 500 acres

acres each. A ſecond allotment has ſince been made, but in both, no one planter has been allowed to purchaſe more than one lot. This law has extended to St. Vincent and Dominica, with this difference only, that in the laſt iſland, the lots were but of 300 acres. In all the three acquiſitions, the land has ſold but for 22, or 28 livres (19*s.* 3*d.* or 1*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.*) an acre. The purchaſe money has been paid by inſtalments. One fifth was paid down at the time; ten per *cent.* the two firſt years, and afterwards twenty per *cent.* till the whole was diſcharged. Every planter is alſo obliged to find a white man and two white women for every hundred acres he ſhall clear. But here a difficulty occurs. The Engliſh, by putting two women and but one man upon a plantation, bring themſelves into the dilemma of either leaving one woman without a huſband, or the man with two wives. This is either admitting polygamy, which chriſtianity forbids, or celibacy, which proteſtants will not allow: for it is not to be ſuppoſed that in America the Engliſh will chuſe to intermarry with the blacks. However this may be, every planter muſt comply with this injunction, or forfeit 450 livres (19*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.*) for every woman, and double that ſum for every man that is wanting.

NOTWITHSTANDING this kind of reſtraint, the diſpoſition of the Engliſh leaves no room to doubt, but that Tobago will emerge in their hands from the utmoſt wretchedneſs, to the greateſt degree of proſperity. At that brilliant period, it will ſurpaſs all the poſſeſſions they have acquired in America, in excellence and the abundance of its productions. Thoſe ſpeculators who are beſt acquainted with the nature of the ſoil, and beſt able to judge what it is capable of producing in proportion to its extent, make no ſcruple to affirm, that the iſland will yield 50,000 hogſheads of raw ſugar yearly to the

BOOK V.

the mother country, beſides other articles of leſſer value. In ſhort, it will ſurpaſs Jamaica, and increaſe the wealth of Grenada.

France cedes Grenada to England.

Importance and produce of that iſland.

THE iſland of Grenada lies to leeward of Tobago, is but nine or ten leagues long, ſeven broad in the wideſt part, and twenty or twenty two in circumference. The plains are interſected by a few mountains of a moderate height, and a prodigious number of pretty large ſprings. There is ſo capacious a harbour to leeward, that ſixty men of war may ride there with eaſe, and with ſo much ſafety, that they might ſave themſelves the trouble of caſting anchor.

THOUGH the French, acquainted with the fertility of Grenada, had intended ſettling there, as early as the year 1638, yet they never brought this project to bear till 1651. At their arrival, they gave a few hatchets, ſome knives, and a barrel of brandy to the chief of the ſavages they found there; and imagining they had purchaſed the iſland with theſe trifles, actually aſſumed the ſovereignty, and ſoon became tyrants. The Caribbees, unable to contend with them by open force, took the method which weakneſs always inſpires to repel oppreſſion; they murdered all whom they found alone and defenceleſs. The troops that were ſent to ſupport the infant colony, found no ſafer or readier way than to deſtroy all the natives. The remainder of theſe poor wretches took refuge upon a ſteep rock, chuſing rather to caſt themſelves down headlong from the top, than to fall into the hands of an implacable enemy. The French inconſiderately called this rock *le morne des ſauteurs*, the hill of the leapers, and it ſtill retains that name.

THEY were juſtly puniſhed for all theſe cruelties by a rapacious, violent and inflexible governor. Moſt of the coloniſts, no longer able to endure his tyranny, retired

tired to Martinico, and thoſe who remained on the iſland condemned him to death after a formal trial. In the whole court that tried this miſcreant, only one could write, whoſe name was Archangeli. A blackſmith was the perſon that impeached, who, inſtead of the ſignature, ſealed with a horſeſhoe, and Archangeli, who performed the office of clerk, wrote gravely round it: *marque de Monſieur de la Brie, conſeiller rapporteur.*

THEY were apprehenſive the court of France would not ratify this extraordinary trial, carried on with ſuch unuſual formalities, though dictated by common ſenſe. Moſt of the judges of the crime, and witneſſes of the execution diſappeared from Grenada. None remained but ſuch obſcure people as were beneath the notice of the laws. The eſtimate taken in 1700 ſhews, that there were on the iſland but 251 white people, 53 free ſavages or mulattos, and 525 ſlaves. The cattle was reduced to 64 horſes, and 569 head of horned cattle. The whole culture conſiſted of three plantations of ſugar, and fifty-two of indigo.

THE face of things was quite changed towards the year 1714; and this was owing to Martinico. That iſland was then laying the foundation of a ſplendour that was to aſtoniſh all nations. It ſent immenſe productions to France, and received choice commodities in return. The moſt valuable of theſe they ſent to the Spaniſh coaſts. Their ſhips touched at Grenada in their way to take in refreſhments. The trading privateers who undertook this navigation, taught the people of that iſland the value of their ſoil, which only wanted tillage. Commerce makes every thing eaſy. Some traders furniſhed them with ſlaves and implements to erect new ſugar plantations. An open account was eſtabliſhed between the two colonies. Grenada was clearing its debts gradually

BOOK V.

gradually by its rich produce, and the balance was on the point of being fully made up, when the war in 1744 cut off the communication between the two iſlands, and at the ſame time ſtopped the progreſs of the ſugar plantations. They ſupplied this loſs by the culture of coffee, which they purſued, during the hoſtilities, with all the activity and eagerneſs that induſtry could inſpire.

THE peace of 1748 revived all the labours, and opened all the former ſources of wealth. In 1753, the population of Grenada conſiſted of 1,262 white people; 175 free negroes; and 11,991 ſlaves. The cattle amounted to 2,298 horſes or mules; 2,456 head of horned cattle; 3,278 ſheep; 902 goats; 331 hogs. The cultivation roſe to 83 ſugar plantations; 2,725,600 coffee trees; 150,300 cocoa trees, and 800 cotton plants. For their proviſion they had 5,740,450 trenches of caſſava; 933,596 banana trees, and 143 ſquares of potatoes and yams. The colony made a rapid progreſs in proportion to the excellence of its ſoil. Thoſe obſtinate fevers and dropſies which for thirty years had conſumed the men as faſt as they cut down the woods, would have ſubſided when the whole had been cleared. But the French have loſt their hopes and their treaſures. They will no longer enjoy the wealth of Grenada. They deſerve, however, the misfortunes that have baffled their too tardy precautions. They are paſſionately fond of premature and unbounded enjoyment: that malady, that has tainted the government of a nation which yet deſerves the affection of her maſters; that prodigality, which reaps when it ſhould ſow; which deſtroys the paſt with one hand, and the future with the other, which dries up and devours the ſtock by anticipating the income; that confuſion, which reſults from the diſtreſſes any ſtate muſt bring itſelf into, that has neither principles nor experience, that has powers and

and views, means, and no conduct; that anarchy which prevails at the helm; that precipitation; that caballing among inferiors; the impropriety or total want of projects; on one hand, the audacity of doing any thing with impunity; on the other, the fear of ſpeaking, even for the public good: this long train of evils has thrown Grenada into the hands of the Engliſh, who are in poſſeſſion of this conqueſt by the treaty of 1763. How long will this laſt? And will the colony never be reſtored to us!

ENGLAND has not ſet out properly. In the firſt enthuſiaſm raiſed by an acquiſition which they had the higheſt opinion of, every one was in a hurry to purchaſe eſtates. They ſold for much more than their real value. This caprice, by driving out old coloniſts, who were inured to the climate, has ſent thirty-five or thirty-ſix millions of livres (on an average about 1,553,000*l.*) out of the nation. This imprudence has been followed by another. The new proprietors, blinded no doubt by national pride, have ſubſtituted new methods to thoſe of their predeceſſors. They choſe to alter the way of the ſlaves. The negroes, who, from their very ignorance, are more attached to their old cuſtoms than other men, revolted. They have been obliged to ſend out troops, and to ſhed blood. The whole colony was filled with ſuſpicion. The maſters who had laid themſelves under a neceſſity of uſing violent methods, were afraid of being murdered in their own plantations, or burnt in their beds. The work has gone on ſlowly, or been quite ſtopped. At length all grew calm again. The number of ſlaves has been increaſed as far as 40,000; and the produce has been raiſed to the treble of what it was under the French government.

THE

BOOK V.

THE plantations will ſtill be improved by the neighbourhood of a dozen of iſlands, called the Grenadines, that are dependent on the colony. They are from three to eight leagues in circumference. They do not afford a ſingle ſpring of water. The air is unwholeſome; the ground covered only with thin buſhes, has not been ſcreened from the ſun: it exhales none of thoſe noxious vapours which are fatal to the huſbandman.

CARIACOU, the only one of the Grenadines which the French have occupied, was at firſt frequented by turtle fiſhermen, who, in the leiſure afforded them by ſo eaſy a trade, employed themſelves in clearing the ground. In proceſs of time their ſmall number was increaſed by the acceſſion of ſome of the inhabitants of Guadalupe, who finding that their plantations were deſtroyed by a particular ſort of ants, removed to Cariacou. There they enjoyed the ſweets of liberty, and their induſtry was crowned with ſucceſs. They collected about twelve hundred ſlaves, by whoſe labours they made themſelves a revenue of four or five hundred thouſand livres (on an average 19,690*l.*) in cotton,

THE other Grenadines are not ſo promiſing, though the plantation of ſugar is begun there. It has ſucceeded remarkably well at Becouya, the largeſt and moſt fertile of theſe iſlands, which is no more than two leagues diſtant from St. Vincent.

The Engliſh take poſſeſſion of St. Vincent. Cuſtoms of the ſavages they found in this iſland.

WHEN the Engliſh and French, who for ſome years had been ravaging the Windward iſlands, began to give ſome conſiſtence to their ſettlements, in the year 1660, they agreed that Dominica and St. Vincent ſhould be left to the Caribs as their property. Some of the ſavages, who till then had been diſperſed, retired into the former, and the greater part into the latter. There theſe quiet and

and moderate men, lovers of peace and ſilence, lived in the woods, in ſcattered families under the guidance of an old man, whom his age alone had advanced to the dignity of ruler. The dominion paſſed ſucceſſively into every family, where the oldeſt always became the king, that is to ſay, the guide and father of the nation. Theſe ignorant ſavages were ſtill unacquainted with the ſublime art of ſubduing and governing men by force of arms; of murdering the inhabitants of a country to get poſſeſſion of their lands; of granting to the conquerors the property, and to the conquered the labours of the conquered country; and in proceſs of time, to ſtrip both of the fruit of their toil by arbitrary taxes.

THE population of theſe children of nature was ſuddenly augmented by a race of Africans, whoſe origin was never poſitively aſcertained. It is ſaid that a ſhip, carrying negroes for ſale foundered on the coaſt of St. Vincent, and the ſlaves who eſcaped from the wreck, were received as brethren by the ſavages. Others pretend that theſe blacks were deſerters, who ran away from the plantations of the neighbouring colonies. A third tradition ſays, that this foreign race comes from the blacks that the Caribs took from the Spaniards, in the firſt wars between thoſe Europeans and the Indians. If we may credit Du Tertre the oldeſt hiſtorian that has written on the Leeward iſlands, thoſe terrible ſavages, who were ſo inveterate againſt their maſters, ſpared the captive ſlaves, reſtored them to liberty that they might enjoy life, that is, the common bleſſings of nature, which no man has a right to withhold from any of his fellow-creatures.

THIS was not all. The proprietors of the iſland gave their daughters in marriage to theſe ſtrangers, and the race that ſprang from this mixture, were called black Caribs. They have preſerved more of the primitive

BOOK V.

colour of their fathers, than of the lighter hue of their mothers. The red Caribs are of a low ſtature; the black Caribs tall and ſtout; and this doubly ſavage race ſpeak with a vehemence that looks like anger.

In time, however, ſome differences aroſe between the two nations. The people of Martinico perceiving this, reſolved to take advantage of their diviſions, and riſe on the ruins of both parties. Their pretence was, that the black Caribs gave ſhelter to the ſlaves who deſerted from the French iſlands. Impoſture is always productive of injuſtice. Thoſe who were falſely accuſed, were afterwards attacked without reaſon. But the ſmallneſs of the numbers ſent out againſt them; the jealouſy of thoſe who were appointed to command the expedition; the defection of the red Caribs, who refuſed to ſupply ſuch dangerous allies with any of the ſuccours they had promiſed them, to act againſt their rivals; the impoſſibility of coming up with enemies who kept themſelves concealed in woods and mountains; all theſe circumſtances conſpired to diſconcert this raſh and violent enterprize. They were forced to give it up, after loſing many valuable lives; but the triumph the ſavages obtained, did not prevent them from ſueing for peace as ſuppliants. They even invited the French to come and live with them, ſwearing ſincere friendſhip and inviolable concord. The propoſal was agreed to; and the next year, 1719, many of the inhabitants of Martinico removed to St. Vincent.

The firſt who came thither, ſettled peaceably, not only with the conſent, but by the aſſiſtance of the red Caribs. This ſucceſs induced others to follow their example; but theſe, whether from jealouſy or ſome other motive, taught the ſavages a ſecret that proved very fatal to them. That people, who knew of no property but the fruits of the earth, becauſe they are the reward

reward of labour, learnt with aſtoniſhment, that they could ſell the earth itſelf, which they had always looked upon as belonging to mankind in general. This knowledge induced them to meaſure, and fix boundaries; and from that inſtant peace and happineſs were baniſhed from their iſland. The partition of lands occaſioned diviſions amongſt men. Theſe were the cauſes of the revolution produced by this ſyſtem of property.

WHEN the French came to St. Vincent, they brought ſlaves along with them, to clear and till the ground. The black Caribs, ſhocked at the thoughts of reſembling men who were degraded by ſlavery, and fearing that ſome time or other their colour which betrayed their origin, might be made a pretence for enſlaving them, took refuge in the thickeſt parts of the foreſt. In this ſituation, in order to imprint an indelible mark of diſtinction upon their tribe, that might be a ſtanding token of their independence, they flattened the foreheads of all their children as ſoon as they were born. The men and women, whoſe heads would not bend to this ſtrange ſhape, dared no longer appear in public without this viſible ſign of freedom. The next generation ſtarted up as a new race. The flat headed Caribs, who were nearly of the ſame age, tall proper men, hardy and fierce, came and erected huts by the ſea-ſide.

THEY no ſooner knew the price which the Europeans ſet upon the lands they inhabited, but they claimed a ſhare with the other iſlanders. This riſing ſpirit of covetouſneſs was at firſt appeaſed by ſome preſents of brandy, and a few ſabres. But not content with theſe, they ſoon demanded fire-arms, as the red Caribs had; and at laſt they were deſirous of having their ſhare in all future ſales of land, and likewiſe in the produce of paſt ſales. Provoked at being denied a part in this brotherly repartition, they formed into a ſeparate tribe, ſwore never

BOOK V.

more to aſſociate with the red Caribs, choſe a chief of their own and declared war.

THE numbers of the combatants might be equal, but their ſtrength was not ſo. The black Caribs had all that advantage over the red, that induſtry, valour, and boldneſs, muſt ſoon acquire over a weak habit and a timorous diſpoſition. But that ſpirit of equity, which is ſeldom deficient in ſavages, made the conqueror conſent to ſhare with the vanquiſhed all the territory lying to the leeward. It was the only one which both parties coveted, becauſe there they were ſure of getting preſents from the French.

THE black Caribs gained nothing by the agreement which they themſelves had drawn up. The new planters who came to the iſland, always landed and ſettled near the red Caribs, where the coaſt was moſt acceſſible. This preference roufed that enmity which was but ill extinguiſhed. The war again broke out. The red Caribs, who were always beaten, retired to windward of the iſland. Many took to their canoes, and went over to the continent or to Tobago; and the few that remained, lived ſeparate from the blacks.

THE black Caribs, conquerors and maſters of all the leeward coaſt, required of the Europeans that they ſhould again buy the lands they had already purchaſed. A Frenchman attempted to ſhew the deed of his purchaſe of ſome land, which he had bought of a red Carib. *I know not*, ſays a black Carib, *what thy paper ſays; but read what is written on my arrow. There you may ſee in characters which do not lye, that if you do not give me what I demand, I will go and burn your houſe to-night.* In this manner did a people, who had not learnt to read, argue with thoſe who derived ſuch conſequence from knowing how to write. They made uſe of the right of force, with as much aſſurance, and as little remorſe, as if they had been acquainted with divine, political, and civil right.

TIME,

TIME, which brings on a change of meaſures with a change of intereſts, put an end to theſe diſturbances. The French no longer ſpent their time in breeding poultry, raiſing vegetables, caſſada, maize and tobacco, in order to ſell them at Martinico. In leſs than twenty years, more important cultures employed 800 white men and 3000 blacks. The yearly ſale of theſe new commodities amounted to 1,500,000 livres, (65625*l.*) The iſland of St. Vincent was in this ſituation when it fell into the hands of the Engliſh. It was ſecured to them by the treaty of 1763.

THE French, who had begun to clear this country, which till then had always remained uncultivated, entertained not the leaſt doubt as to their title to the lands. They held their property of the original inhabitants, who might, perhaps, have diſpoſed of a territory which nature had given them. How great was their ſurprize, when they were informed that Great-Britain, which was in no treaty either with them or with the Caribs, thought herſelf authorized to ſtrip them, unleſs they would redeem thoſe very fields they had cultivated with their own hands, and founded her right on principles adopted in Europe! In vain did they remonſtrate againſt an oppreſſion ſo contrary to the order of nature, and even to the law of nations. Their complaints were diſregarded. The chief men of the colony dared not ſuſpend the orders ſent from the mother-country, to ſell the lands indiſcriminately. The parliament propoſed by this trifling profit, to ſupply the deficiencies which the expences of the war had made in the treaſury. But this end was not anſwered. The 1,575,000 livres, (near 69,000*l.*) which aroſe from the conceſſions made in the three neutral iſlands, were almoſt wholly diſſipated in vain formalities. If even the axiom of the Europeans, that falſe and barbarous axiom, that the

BOOK V.

lands inhabited by ſavages are to be conſidered as vacant could have been rejected by the Engliſh, who, like the Spaniards, had ſo often availed themſelves of it, to make uſurpations; if the French had not had a right to purchaſe, what they had at leaſt had a right to ſteal; if they had not by their labour acquired a lawful title to thoſe lands which they had obtained by preſents; in ſhort, if the public treaſury of England, exhauſted by a war that was, perhaps, unjuſt, was to be repleniſhed by the extortions of the peace, and the profits of theſe unlawful ſales: ſtill it was contrary to their own intereſt and to their principles of political oeconomy, thus to plunder induſtrious men, who ſhould have accelerated the improvement of a colony which they themſelves had founded.

But the ſeverity of the new eſtabliſhed government made them diſperſe. Some went over to St. Martin, Marigalante, Guadalupe, and Martinico, but the greater part to St. Lucia, which began to be peopled by granting lands to thoſe who would clear them. They all brought away their ſlaves. The emigration, however, was not univerſal. Some Frenchmen, leſs attached to their relations, and leſs fond of their own country, which had in a manner caſt them off, choſe to remain under the yoke of the conqueror on the fertile ſpot where fortune had thrown them. When the emotions of diſcontent were paſſed, they conſidered they ſhould gain more by redeeming their own lands, than by ſettling upon freſh grounds that would coſt them nothing.

Their fortune, which had never yet been upon any ſolid foundation, muſt acquire firmneſs and vigour under the protection of Engliſh government. The iſland, which they ſhare with their new fellow-citizens, tho' it does not promiſe much cotton, is very favourable to the culture of the arnotto and cocoa. Before the conqueſt, they

they gathered three million weight of coffee, the culture of which might with eaſe be conſiderably increaſed, if the attention of the Engliſh was not totally engaged in the plantation of ſugar. That part of St. Vincent they were ſettled in which is on the leeward ſide, ſupplied them only with a ſmall quantity, becauſe it is rugged and hilly. This circumſtance made them deſirous of occupying the plains on the windward ſide. The Caribs, who had taken refuge there, have refuſed to vacate them, and the Engliſh have had recourſe to arms to compel them to it. Though they defend themſelves with great courage, they will ſooner or later ſubmit to the yoke of European tyranny. May the flames of war not extend themſelves to Dominica!

The Engliſh eſtabliſh themſelves at Dominica. Deſign of this eſtabliſhment.

THIS iſland is ſomewhat larger than St. Vincent. It is thirteen leagues in length, and nine at moſt in breadth; and in the centre are inacceſſible mountains, which pour down numerous rivers of excellent water, upon fruitful but uneven grounds.

THIS country was inhabited by its own children. In 1732, 938 Caribs were found there, living in 32 carbets, and 349 French people lived in a diſtrict by the ſea-ſide which the Caribs had forſaken. Theſe Europeans had no other aſſiſtance, or rather companions of their labours, but 23 free mulattoes, and 338 ſlaves. They were all employed in breeding poultry, in raiſing proviſions for the conſumption of Martinico, and cultivating 72,200 cotton ſhrubs. Theſe trifling productions were afterwards enriched by the addition of coffee. At laſt, the iſland contained 600 white people, and 2000 blacks, at the peace of 1763, when it became an Engliſh colony.

BEFORE the end of the laſt century, Great-Britain, who was advancing towards the dominion of the ſeas, while ſhe accuſed France of graſping at the monarchy

BOOK V.

of the continent, had ſhewed as much eagerneſs for Dominica as ſhe did in the late negotiations, when victory gave her a right to chuſe. It was not for the ſake of coffee, cocoa, or cotton, which, however, the Engliſh may multiply there beyond their hopes, nor yet for the ſake of ſugar, of which they muſt not expect more than three or four thouſand hogſheads a year, and that only in proceſs of time. An object of greater importance than ſettlements for cultivation, entered into their diſtant political views.

THE point that the Engliſh aimed at, was to draw all the commodities of the French colonies to Dominica, and to trade with them themſelves; and, indeed, till the nation, whoſe fortune has ſunk with her glory, can recover her activity, and by the ſtrength of her navy can be enabled in ſome meaſure to ſettle the price of her commodities, and prevent their being conveyed from their ſettlements by a contraband trade: till that auſpicious time comes, the reciprocal intereſt of the French planters and the Engliſh merchants will baffle all the endeavours of the court of Verſailles. The intercourſe will be kept up by means of the old coloniſts remaining at Dominica, notwithſtanding the hard uſage they met with in being treated by the new government like thoſe of St. Vincent. This is not, however, the only complaint they have againſt the Engliſh miniſtry. Whilſt they made every harbour in the iſland a free port, they have laid a duty of thirty-three livres, fifteen ſous (1*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.*) upon every negro that ſhould be imported; have even carried their imprudent avidity ſo far, as to require a part of this abſurd tax to be paid before the ſale: ſo that the Guinea traders muſt bring money to Dominica, or borrow it there upon extravagant terms; which muſt make them cautious

of

of coming, or inhance the price of the commodity; a price low indeed in the eyes of humanity, but already too high is thoſe of avarice.

BUT the great advantage of this iſland for the Engliſh, in its being ſituated between Guadalupe and Martinico, at a ſmall diſtance from each, ſo as to be equally alarming to both. Its ſafe and commodious roads will enable the Engliſh privateers and ſquadrons to intercept without riſque the navigation of France in her colonies, and even the communication between the two iſlands. England ſeems to have ſecured at the peace every defile and every poſt againſt the next war. Let us now reſume the examination of her poſſeſſions. When we ſpeak of a maritime and commercial power, an inquiry into the value of its colonies, is taking an eſtimate of its ſtrength.

Preſent ſtate of the Britiſh iſlands.

THE number of ſlaves employed in the Engliſh iſlands, is about 230,000; but their labour produces leſs than the like number in the French colonies. This difference may be owing to three ſeveral cauſes. The ſoil of the Britiſh ſettlements was originally worſe, and is now more exhauſted by long culture. The care of the plantations is commonly committed to mercenaries, who are neither ſo diligent, ſo intelligent, nor ſo oeconomical as the proprietors. The methods of clearing and improving the lands have not yet attained to the ſame degree of perfection.

THE population of white people in the French colonies in proportion to the blacks, is as one to ſix; whereas in the Engliſh colonies it is ſeldom more than one to eleven. The reaſon is, that the latter are confined to agriculture, and the former embrace both agriculture and trade. As they are both however carried on at Barbadoes that deals in ſlaves, and at Jamaica that has formed contraband connections with the Spaniſh coaſts,

BOOK V.

coaſts, the white population ſhould be greater there in proportion to the black, than in the other ſettlements under the ſame dependence.

THIS diſproportion between the black and white people has not always been the ſame in the Engliſh colonies. They formerly contained a great number of Europeans, but they have diſappeared, as the leſſer cultures have made way for ſugar plantations, which take up a great deal of room. They are ſucceſſively gone over to new iſlands, have retired to North America, or have returned to the mother country. Not but there were as many indigent and idle men in England as at the time of the firſt emigrations from Europe to America; but the ſpirit of adventure and enterprize, which was raiſed by the novelty of the object and other concurring circumſtances, far from being encouraged, has been ſtifled by the planters. In vain did the laws require every proprietor to have a number of white men proportionable to the blacks upon his plantation; theſe regulations were ineffectual. They chuſe rather to run the riſque of paying the penalty, which coſts them leſs than their compliance. But the deficiency in the number of white men is compenſated by the advantages they enjoy.

ALL the inhabitants of the Engliſh iſlands are regimented. This ſubjection, which neither expoſes them to the caprices of a governor, nor to the inſulting pride of regular troops, neither degrades nor offends any body. If this militia is inferior in point of diſcipline to the European ſoldiery, they far exceed them in ardor and courage. If their numbers were ſufficient to cope with an enemy whoſe government is almoſt a military one, they would ſave the mother country the trouble of ſending troops, at an immenſe expence and great riſques, who for the moſt part periſh without doing any thing. But this

this militia of the colonies is hardly ſufficient to keep the blacks in awe, who are always ready to riſe and cannot brook the Engliſh yoke; for it ſhould ſeem that ſlavery was more intolerable in a free nation, where it is more unjuſt and more inconſiſtent with its character than in others. It is ſtrange that man who is ſo fond of independence, ſhould no ſooner ſhake off the yoke, but he wants to put it on the necks of others, and that thoſe who are moſt impatient of controul, ſhould be the fondeſt of dominion.

THOUGH Great Britain has never laid any direct tax upon her colonies, they are more heavily taxed than thoſe which belong to leſs moderate governments. Left to ſhift for themſelves, they have been obliged to provide for their own ſafety, and to guard againſt the diſaſters cauſed by the great commotions of nature which are ſo frequent in thoſe climates. Forced to repair the miſchiefs of war, and to put themſelves in a poſture of defence, they have erected fortifications by voluntary contributions; theſe have been large, but ruinous by the debts they have been obliged to contract. The civil adminiſtration, in manifeſt contradiction to the republican ſpirit of diſintereſted oeconomy, has always been very expenſive, and public buſineſs has never been tranſacted but for money. This is an unavoidable evil that attends a trading people, whether free or not; they ultimately love or value nothing but money. The thirſt of gold, being more the work of imagination than of neceſſity, it does not ſatisfy our deſires like the gratification of our other paſſions. Theſe are unconnected and tranſient; they are at variance or ſucceed each other; whereas the thirſt of gold feeds and gratifies all the others, or at leaſt it ſupplies them, and at the ſame time wears them out, by procuring the means of indulging them. No habit increaſes ſo faſt as that of amaſſing wealth;

BOOK V.

wealth; it ſeems to be alike excited by the enjoyments of vanity, and the ſelf-denial of avarice. The rich man always wants to fill or enlarge his treaſure. Conſtant experience verifies this, both in individuals and nations. Since great fortunes have been made in England by trade, the deſire of riches is become the grand ſpring of action, and the univerſal paſſion. Such citizens as either could not or would not embrace that moſt lucrative of all employments, ſtill have an eye to that lucre which the manners and opinion of the times has made neceſſary. Even in aſpiring to honours they hunt after riches. In their attachment to thoſe laws and virtues, which ought ever mutually to aſſiſt each other, even in obtaining the honour of ſitting in parliament, they have found the way to aggrandize their fortune. In order to carry their election into this powerful body, they have bribed the people, and afterwards have no more been aſhamed to ſell theſe very people to the court, than they were to have bought them. Every vote in parliament is become venal. A famous miniſter always kept a book of rates, and openly boaſted of it, to the diſgrace of the nation. It was the duty of his place, he ſaid, to buy off the repreſentatives of the nation, to make them vote, not againſt, but according to their conſcience. But what can conſcience plead againſt the allurements of gain? If the mercantile ſpirit has been capable of infecting the mother-country with the contagion of ſelf-intereſt, how ſhould it not prevail in the colonies, of which it is the principle and the ſupport? Is it then true, that in proud Albion, a man who ſhould be generous enough to ſerve his country for the mere love of glory, would be looked upon as a man of another world and of the paſt age? If ſo, her enemies have nothing to do but, on their ſide, to ſhake off this mean ſpirit, and they will one day recover from her all they have loſt.

YET,

YET, notwithſtanding the enormous contributions and public expences in the Engliſh ſettlements, their lands ſtill ſell at a very high price. The Europeans and Americans vie with each other in buying them, and this competition enhances their value. They are allured by the certainty of finding a better market for their commodities in the mother-country, than other nations can have elſewhere. Beſides, the Engliſh iſlands are leſs expoſed to invaſion and devaſtation, than others that are rich in productions and poor in ſhips. The navigation of a people born for the ſea, ſupports itſelf by its own ſtrength, in war as well as in peace.

THAT nation takes every method to enhance the value of its iſlands. In 1766 they took off the duty of four and a half *per cent.* on all ſugars exported, and likewiſe the duties on all other commodities. This exemption has been extended to the productions of other iſlands brought into their own. The government has done more It has undertaken to defray the charges of the garriſons that are to protect the new conqueſts, which amount to 219,427 livres, (about 9,600*l.*) Thus the treaſury ſupports trade, in order to increaſe its proſperity.

What are the outward connections of the Britiſh iſlands.

THE connections of the Engliſh iſlands are greatly confined. No foreign ſhip is ſuffered to land, but at Jamaica and Dominica, which were made free ports in 1766. The ſeverity of the laws prevents the governors from eluding this important prohibition. All intercourſe with the ſeveral nations of Europe, has always been forbidden them; and in 1739, when they were permitted to carry their ſugars directly to the foreign markets, it was under ſuch reſtrictions as made it impracticable. It is the intereſt of the mother-country to reſerve the whole produce of her iſlands for her own conſumption or her own trade. The following is the way in which they are diſtributed.

THESE

BOOK V.

THESE colonies have never produced proviſions for their inhabitants, whether white or black. They afford neither wood, cattle, nor ſalt-fiſh. They are ſupplied with theſe neceſſaries from New-England, and ſend in exchange, rum, pimento, ginger, few other commodities, but great quantities of molaſſes, which is uſed there inſtead of ſugar. The New-England people were never allowed to fetch ſugar in kind from the iſlands, leſt the cheapneſs of the commodity ſhould induce them to neglect molaſſes, and to draw other articles in payment for thoſe that were ſent them from the northern colonies. The mother country was very ſenſible, that ſugars ſent from America to England, and back again from England to America, would find but few purchaſers; but this conſideration did not ſtop her. Her chief view was, not to ſell a commodity to the northern colonies which ſhe could readily diſpoſe of in Europe; and particularly to ſecure the conſumption of molaſſes, that ſhe might appropriate to herſelf all the rich produce of her iſlands. But the meaſures that were taken to ſecure this important end, were ſingularly oppoſed.

FRANCE, which fortunately was poſſeſſed of the richeſt iſlands in the Weſt-Indies, by that imprudence which has always checked the progreſs of her fortune, never thought of ſending her molaſſes and rum to her northern ſettlements. This bad policy drew the New-England people to the French iſlands. They brought them meal, vegetables, wood, ſalt-fiſh, cattle, and even money, and fetched away indigo, cotton, ſugar, which they found means to ſend over to England, and chiefly all their molaſſes for their own conſumption. It is demonſtrable that as early as the year 1719, they carried off 20,000 hogſheads, and that by the year 1733, this navigation employed 300 ſhips, and near 3000 ſailors.

THIS

THIS intercourſe, which made the colonies on the continent independent of the Engliſh iſlands for the articles they wanted, excited the murmurs of the planters in the iſlands. They applied to parliament for the prohibition of a trade which, they alledged, was detrimental both to the mother country and to their proſperity, and beneficial to the progreſs of the French ſettlements. The North Americans replied, that if this market was ſhut againſt them, they could neither advance in the clearing of lands, nor carry on their fur trade, nor go on with their fiſhery, nor conſume national manufactures, nor add any thing to the wealth, power, or maritime ſtrength of the mother country.

THIS grand conteſt, which more or leſs concerned every Engliſhman, occaſioned a great ferment, and produced many writings, in which party ſpirit betrayed great animoſity. But it is by theſe means that the nation comes at the knowledge of its true intereſt. When it was fully inſtructed, the parliament, to reconcile the views of all the American coloniſts, confirmed the privilege thoſe on the continent had to trade with the French; but, to favour the iſlands, they laid a duty on foreign molaſſes, ſo as to ſecure the preference to their own. This duty has often fluctuated. In 1764, the people of the iſlands petitioned that it might be put at 7 ſols, 6 deniers (about 3*d.*) per gallon: thoſe of the continent wanted to pay but 3 ſols, 9 deniers (not quite 2*d.*) To ſatisfy both parties, it was put to 5 ſols, 7 deniers and a half, (not quite 3*d.*) It has ſince been brought down to 1 ſol, 10 deniers and a half, (about 1*d.*) which is levied equally upon foreign and national molaſſes. But happily for the Engliſh iſlands, the demand for molaſſes and rum has of late years been ſo great in North America, and the demand for rum in England,

BOOK V.

England, and eſpecially in Ireland has increaſed ſo much, that they have never been at a loſs to diſpoſe of theſe commodities. Such are the connections of the Engliſh iſlands with the northern colonies; they are much greater with the mother country.

THE mother country furniſhes them with wearing apparel, utenſils and ſlaves. This is about the twentieth part of what ſhe draws from them. The reaſon of this diſproportion is, that moſt of the great planters reſide in England, and their agents abroad can and do conſume but little. Their affairs are managed much in the ſame manner as thoſe of the nobility in Europe.

A merchant of credit is a kind of ſteward, who ſends over whatever is wanted in the plantations that are under his management. He gives orders to the adminiſtrators who are to overlook and direct the cultures. He receives all the produce by the return of the ſhips. He pays the bills drawn upon him for the purchaſe of ſlaves. This commiſſion brings him in the freight, with the intereſt and reimburſement of the money he has advanced, beſides the profit of commiſſion upon the goods bought and ſold. His profits are greater than thoſe of the proprietor himſelf.

IF this method differs from an excluſive privilege, it is at leaſt attended with the ſame inconveniences; ſince it throws the whole management of the plantations into the hands of a few privateers, and ſecures to them the carriage of all the commodities they produce. So that as there is no competition for the freight, it can always be kept up at the ſame price, which runs very high.

THAT kind of monopoly which ſome merchants exerciſed in the Engliſh iſlands, is practiſed by the capital of the mother country, with regard to the provinces. It is to London that moſt of the produce of the colonies is ſent.

ſent. It is in London that moſt of the owners of this produce reſide. It is in London that the profit ariſing from it is ſpent. The reſt of the nation is but very indirectly concerned in it.

BUT London is the fineſt port in England. It is here that ſhips are built, and manufactures carried on. London furniſhes ſeamen for navigation, and hands for commerce. It ſtands in a temperate, fruitful, and central county. Every thing has a free paſſage in and out of it. It may be truly ſaid to be the heart of the body politic from its local ſituation. It is not of an enormous ſize, though, like all other capitals, it is rather too large; it is not a head of clay, that wants to domineer over a coloſſus of gold. That city is not filled with proud and idle men, who only incumber and oppreſs a laborious people. It is the reſort of all the merchants; the ſeat of the national aſſembly. There the king's palace is neither vaſt nor empty. He reigns in it by his enlivening preſence. There the ſenate dictates the laws, agreeable to the ſenſe of the people it repreſents. It neither fears the eye of the monarch, nor the frowns of the miniſtry. London has not arrived to its preſent greatneſs by the influence of government, which ſtrains and over-rules all natural cauſes; but by the ordinary impulſe of men and things, and by a kind of attraction of commerce. It is the ſea, it is England, it is the whole world that makes London rich and populous.

Summary of the riches that Europe draws from the American iſlands.

THE hiſtory of the colonies of the American Archipelago cannot be better concluded, than by a recapitulation of the riches with which Europe is ſupplied by them. This is the great object of commerce in our days, and hence the Leeward iſlands will ever hold a diſtinguiſhed place in the annals of nations; ſince in fact, riches are the ſpring of all the great revolutions that diſturb the earth. The colonies of Aſia Minor occaſioned

BOOK V.

both the ſplendour and the downfal of Greece. Rome, which at firſt deſired to ſubdue nations only to govern them, fell from her greatneſs, when ſhe acquired the poſſeſſion of the treaſures of the eaſt. War ſeemed to ſlumber for a while in Europe, in order to invade a new world; and has ſince been ſo often renewed in the former merely to divide the ſpoils of the latter. Poverty, which will always be the lot of the greater part of mankind, and the choice of a few wiſe men, makes no noiſe in the world. Hiſtory therefore can only treat of maſſacres or riches.

THE riches of the Spaniſh iſlands cannot be aſcertained with any degree of preciſion. The reaſon is this. Several kinds of commodities are uſually brought thither from the continent, which are confounded with the productions of the Spaniſh leeward iſlands. Yet we may not, perhaps, be wide of the truth, if we compute the commodities which Spain annually draws from her iſlands at ten millions. (437,500*l.*)

THE produce of the Daniſh colonies is not above ſeven millions. (306,250*l.*) They employ 70 ſhips, and 1500 ſailors. Theſe ſettlements receive in ſlaves and merchandiſe, 1,500,000 livres. (65,625*l.*) The charges of exportation and importation may be valued at 900,000 livres. (39,375*l.*) and the duties and inſurances at ten *per cent.* All expences deducted, the Daniſh iſlands muſt enjoy a clear income of about three millions and a half. (153,125*l.*)

THE Dutch may receive from their ſettlements, commodities to the value of twenty-four millions of livres. (1,050,000*l.*) They are brought over to Holland by 150 ſhips and 4000 ſailors. The charges of this navigation muſt amount to three millions and a half of livres; (153,125*l.*) the duties, commiſſion and inſurance, to two millions and a half; (109,375*l.*) the goods and ſlaves

ſent

ſent over, to ſix millions. (262,500*l.*) There remains clear for the proprietors about twelve millions. (525,000*l.*)

THE produce of the Engliſh iſlands, which employs 600 ſhips and 12,000 ſailors, may be eſtimated at ſixty-ſix millions of livres. (2,887,500*l.*) Independent of what the mother country ſends to Jamaica for her contraband trade with the continent, ſhe furniſhes to the value of ſeventeen millions, (743,750*l.*) in ſlaves and merchandiſe, for the uſe of her colonies. The profits of the agents for this trade, the charges of navigation, duties and commiſſion put together, cannot fall far ſhort of ſixteen millions. (700,000*l.*) From this calculation, the clear income of the owners of the plantations will appear to be thirty-three millions. (1,443,750*l.*)

WE ſhall not be apprehenſive of being accuſed of over-rating the produce of the French iſlands, when we reckon it at one hundred million of livres. (4,375,000*l.*) Six hundred ſhips, and 18,000 ſailors are employed in the tranſport. France ſells to theſe great ſettlements, in ſlaves, in the growth of her own ſoil or the fruits of her own induſtry, and in Portugal gold, to the value of ſixty millions. (2,625,000*l.*) The profit of her merchants, only at ten *per cent.* muſt be ſix millions. (262,500*l.*) The charges of navigation at leaſt fifteen; (656,250*l.*) and the duties, inſurance and commiſſion no leſs than ſeven. (306,250*l.*) There only remains clear for the proprietors about twelve millions. (525,000*l.*) The contraſt is ſtriking between this trifling balance and that of the other iſlands, and will appear more ſo, if we conſider that in the latter, four out of five of the planters do not reſide, whereas in the French colonies, nine out of ten of the proprietors live conſtantly upon the ſpot.

BOOK V.

THE reſult of this valuation is, that the productions of the great Archipelago of America, when brought into Europe, are worth two hundred and ſeven millions of livres. (9,056,250*l.*) It is not a gift that the new world makes to the old. The nations which receive this important fruit of the labour of their ſubjects ſettled in another hemiſphere, give in exchange, though with evident advantage to themſelves, the choiceſt produce of their ſoil and of their manufactures. Some conſume the whole of what they draw from their iſlands; others, and eſpecially France, make the overplus the baſis of a proſperous trade with their neighbours. Thus every nation that is poſſeſſed of property in America, if it is truly induſtrious, gains ſtill leſs by the number of ſubjects it maintains abroad without any expence, than by the population which thoſe procure it at home. To feed a colony in America, it is neceſſary to cultivate a province in Europe; and this additional culture increaſes the inward ſtrength and real wealth of the nation. In a word, at this preſent time, the trade of the whole world is connected with that of the colonies.

THE labours of the people ſettled in thoſe iſlands, are the ſole baſis of the African trade, they extend the fiſheries and the cultures of North America, afford a good market for the manufactures of Aſia, and double, perhaps, treble the activity of all Europe. They may be conſidered as the principle cauſe of the rapid motion which now agitates our globe. This ferment muſt increaſe, as the culture of the iſlands draws nearer to perfection, and it has not yet attained to half the proſperity it is capable of.

NOTHING would be more likely to haſten that happy period, than to give up the excluſive trade, which every

every nation has reſerved to itſelf in its own colonies. An unlimited freedom to trade with all the iſlands, would be productive of the greateſt efforts, by exciting a general competition. Men who are inſpired with the love of humanity, and are enlightened by that ſacred fire, have ever wiſhed to ſee a direct communication opened between all the ports of Europe and America. The ſeveral governments, almoſt all corrupt in their origin, and ſtrangers to this principle of univerſal benevolence, have imagined that ſocieties moſtly founded on the ſeparate intereſt of each nation, or of one ſingle individual, ought to be formed in order to reſtrain all the connections of every colony to its reſpective mother country. The opinion is, that theſe reſtraining laws ſecure to each commercial nation in Europe the ſale of its own territorial productions, the means of procuring ſuch foreign commodities as it might ſtand in need of, and an advantageous balance with all the other trading nations.

THIS ſyſtem, which was long thought to be the beſt, has been vigorouſly oppoſed, when the theory of commerce had once ſhaken off the fetters of prejudice. It has been alleged, that no nation can ſupply all the real or imaginary wants of its colonies out of its own property. There is not one that is not obliged to get ſome articles from abroad, in order to complete the cargoes for America. From this neceſſity ariſes at leaſt an indirect communication of all nations with thoſe diſtant poſſeſſions. Would it not be more eligible to convey each article to its deſtination in a direct line, than by the indirect way of bartering? It would be attended with leſs expence; would promote both culture and conſumption, and bring an increaſe of revenue to the public treaſury: a thouſand advantages would accrue to

BOOK V.

the mother countries, which would make them full amends for the exclusive right they all claim, to their mutual detriment.

THESE maxims are true, ſolid, and uſeful, but they will not be adopted. The reaſon is this. A great revolution is preparing in the trade of Europe, and is too far advanced not to be accompliſhed. Every government is endeavouring to do without the aſſiſtance of foreign induſtry. Moſt of them have already ſucceeded, and the reſt will not be long before they ſhake off this dependence. Already the Engliſh and the French, who are the great manufacturers of Europe, ſee their maſter-pieces of workmanſhip refuſed on all ſides. Will theſe two nations, which are at the ſame time the greateſt planters of the iſlands, go and open their ports to thoſe who force them, as it were, to ſhut up their manufactures at home? The more they loſe in the foreign markets, the leſs they will conſent to a competition in the only market they have left. They will rather ſtrive to extend it, that they may have a greater demand for their commodities, and a greater ſupply of American productions. It is by theſe returns that they will preſerve their advantage in the balance of trade, and they need not fear that the plenty of theſe productions ſhould lower their value. The progreſs of induſtry in our continent, muſt increaſe population and wealth, and of courſe the conſumption and value of American productions.

What will be the fate of the American iſlands hereafter.

BUT whether the American iſlands, with the ſettlements that make them ſo flouriſhing, will always remain in the hands of their original poſſeſſors, whether they will change maſters; or, in caſe of a revolution, into whoſe hands they will fall, and by what means; theſe are queſtions that afford much room for ſpeculation and conjecture, which may be aſſiſted by the following reflections.

THE

THE iſlands depend totally upon Europe for a ſupply of all their wants. Thoſe which only reſpect wearing apparel and implements of huſbandry will admit of delay, but the leaſt diſappointment with regard to proviſions, ſpreads a general alarm, and cauſes univerſal deſolation, which rather tempts the people to wiſh for than fear the approach of an enemy. And, indeed, it is a common ſaying in the colonies, that they ſhall never fail to capitulate with a ſquadron ſtored with barrels of flour inſtead of gun-powder. If we pretend to obviate this inconvenience, by obliging the inhabitants to cultivate for their own ſubſiſtence, we defeat the very end of theſe ſettlements, without any real advantage. The mother-country would deprive herſelf of a great part of the rich produce of her colonies, and would not preſerve them from invaſion.

IN vain ſhould we hope to oppoſe an enemy by the help of negroes, born in a climate where effeminacy ſtifles the ſeeds of courage, and who are ſtill more enervated by ſlavery, and therefore but little concerned in the choice of their tyrants. As to the white men, diſperſed in extenſive plantations, they are ſo few, that they could make but little reſiſtance. It is even a queſtion whether they would repulſe an invaſion if they could.

ALL the coloniſts hold it as a maxim, that their iſlands are to be conſidered as thoſe great cities in Europe, which lying open to the firſt comer, change their dominion without an attack, without a ſiege, and almoſt without being ſenſible of the war. The ſtrongeſt is their maſter. The inhabitants cry out with the Italians, *God ſave the conqueror*; paſſing and repaſſing from one yoke to another in the courſe of a campaign. Whether at the peace, the city returns to its old maſter, or remains in the hands of the victor, it has loſt nothing of its ſplendor; whilſt fortified towns are always depopu-

BOOK V.

lated and reduced to a heap of ruins. Indeed, there is hardly one inhabitant in the American iſlands who does not think it a folly to expoſe his fortune for the ſake of his country. This greedy calculator is little concerned whoſe laws he obeys, if his crops are but left ſtanding. It is to enrich himſelf that he has croſſed the ſeas. If he preſerves his treaſures, his purpoſe is anſwered. Can the mother-country that forſakes him, too often after tyrannizing over him, that is ready to give him up, or, perhaps, to ſell him at the concluſion of a peace, have any claim to the ſacrifice of his life. It is no doubt a glorious thing to die for one's country. But a ſtate, where the proſperity of the nation is ſacrificed to forms of government; where the art of cheating men is the art of training up ſubjects; where they will have ſlaves and not citizens; where war is declared and peace concluded, without conſulting the opinion or the wiſhes of the people; where evil deſigns are always countenanced by the intrigues of debauchery, or the practices of monopoly; and where uſeful plans are only adopted with ſuch clogs as make them impracticable: is this the country for which we ſhould ſacrifice our blood?

THE fortifications erected for the defence of the colonies, will ſecure them no better than the arms of the inhabitants. Even if they were ſtronger, and better guarded and ſtored than they have ever been, they muſt always ſurrender unleſs they are ſuccoured. Should the reſiſtance hold out above ſix months, that would not diſcourage the beſiegers, who being within reach of a conſtant ſupply of refreſhments both by land and by ſea, can better endure the ſeverity of the climate, than a garriſon can reſiſt the duration of a ſiege.

THERE is no other way to preſerve the colonies but by a formidable navy. It is on the docks and in the harbours of Europe that the baſtions and ramparts of the American

rican colonies muſt be raiſed. Whilſt the mother country ſhelters them, as it were, under the wings of her ſhips, ſo long as ſhe ſhall fill up with her fleets the vaſt interval that ſeparates her from theſe daughters of her induſtry and power, her parental watchfulneſs for their proſperity will ſecure their attachment to her. In future, therefore, the maritime forces will be the great object that will attract the attention of all proprietors of land in America. European policy generally directs its attention to the ſecuring of the frontiers of ſtates by fortified towns; but for maritime powers, theſe ought, perhaps, to be citadels in the center, and ſhips all round. A commercial iſland, indeed, wants no fortified towns. Her rampart is the ſea, which conſtitutes her ſafety, her ſubſiſtence, her wealth; the winds are at her command, and all the elements conſpire to promote her glory.

In this reſpect, England may undertake any enterprize, and expect every kind of ſucceſs. She is now the only power that can confide in her poſſeſſions in America, and that is able to attack the colonies of her rivals. Perhaps, it will not be long ere ſhe follows the dictates of her courage. The pride of paſt ſucceſs; the very reſtleſſneſs inſeparable from proſperity; the burden of conqueſts, which ſeem to be the puniſhment of victory: all theſe are ſo many incentives to war. The Engliſh are cruſhed under the weight of their undertakings and their national debt; their manufactures are falling; every day they loſe ſome branch of trade; they cannot appeaſe the ferment of the northern colonies, but by opening new marts for their productions. The notions they have conceived of their own valour, and the terror of their arms abroad, would wear off by a long peace; their fleets would conſume in idleneſs; their admirals would loſe the benefit of paſt experience. All theſe reflections

BOOK V.

reflections are warrantable motives for a nation that has waged war before it was declared, and pretends to the dominion of all America, by the ſame right that places a deſpotic prince at the head of a nation. The firſt ſpark will kindle in America, and the ſtorm will directly fall upon the French iſlands; becauſe the reſt, except the Havannah, will voluntarily ſubmit to the yoke.

THE French ſhould, therefore, firſt prepare for the defence of America. If it can be defended, they alone can effect it, for the Dutch are of no conſequence now, and Spain has ſuffered all her natural powers to remain inactive, and has put the means of her ſtrength into the hands of other nations. At this time, therefore, France alone is able to raiſe a formidable navy. Philoſophers of all nations, friends of mankind, forgive a French writer if he urges his countrymen to build ſhips. He has in view the tranquillity of the earth, when he wiſhes to ſee that equilibrium eſtabliſhed in the dominion of the ſeas, which now preſerves the ſafety of the continent.

FRANCE, almoſt in the center of Europe, and placed between the Ocean and Mediterranean, unites the ſtrength of land forces to the advantages of a maritime power. She can convey all her productions from one ſea to the other, without paſſing under the threatening cannon of Gibraltar, or the inſulting flag of the ſtates of Barbary. A channel preferable to the Pactolus, pours the rich produce of her faireſt provinces into both ſeas, and the treaſures of both ſeas into her choiceſt provinces. No navigating nation has the advantage of ſo ſpeedy a communication between her ſeveral ports by land, or between her ſeveral lands by her ports. She is within reach of Spain and Portugal, which know not how to provide for their own ſuſtenance, and within reach of the Turks and Africans, whoſe trade is merely paſſive. Her moderate climate procures her the ineſtimable

mable advantage, almoſt peculiar to herſelf, of ſending out and receiving her ſhips at all ſeaſons of the year. Her roads are ſo deep, that ſhe can give her ſhips the propereſt form, both for ſwiftneſs and ſafety.

She is in no want of commodities for exportation. Her wines and brandies are diſpoſed of in America and in the north of Europe. How many nations buy up her ſalt, her oil, her ſoap, her fruit, and even her corn. There is a great demand for the produce of her colonies. But it is chiefly by her manufactures, her ſilks, and her faſhions, that ſhe regulates the taſte of all nations. Notwithſtanding all the endeavours uſed to oppoſe this prevailing paſſion, Europe is faſcinated, and will never give up the point. This phrenzy has found its way to England, where the legiſlators themſelves, whilſt they enact laws to prevent it, are the firſt to break them. In vain, to ſave the heavy duties on our manufactured goods, have others tried to imitate them. The fruitfulneſs of invention will ever prevent the readieſt imitation; our light fancy will always be too quick for our neighbours, and our inventive genius will be contriving new faſhions, while our old ones are ſtill in their looms. What ſhould we not expect from our navigation, when we are thus able to ſupply other nations with whatever can feed their vanity, their luxury, and their voluptuouſneſs?

No obſtacle ariſing from the nature of things could ſtop this activity. France, great enough not to be obſtructed by the ſurrounding powers, and ſo happily limited as not to ſink under the weight of her own greatneſs, France has in her own hands all the means of attaining to that power by ſea which would complete her proſperity. A numerous population, fit for any enterprize, only wants encouragement to be directed to the ſea-ſervice. Even the reproach that is made to the

French

BOOK V.

French for having more ſailors on board their ſhips than other nations, is itſelf a proof that there are men enough for the art, if they were but properly inſtructed in it. Yet no nation has been endowed by nature with more of that lively genius which is fit for the improvement of ſhip building, or of that bodily dexterity which can ſave time and expence in the manœuvre, by the ſimplicity and celerity of the means made uſe of.

It is in the merchant ſervice that a nation learns to be formidable at ſea. All ſailors are naturally ſoldiers. They daily face the dangers of death; they are inured to the fatigues of labour, and the injurious effects of climates. A military marine can only be trained up by ſervice at ſea. The trading navy is the ſchool, and commerce the nurſery and ſupport of it. In vain would the royal treaſury of a court that has never ſeen the ſea or a ſhip, fit out fleets; the ocean ſcorns thoſe effeminate and cringing beings who ſtoop and bend before other men. Such commanders would require no other aſſiſtance from the winds than to help them in their flight. Let them remain in the capital, and leave the command of men of war to the maſters of privateers; or rather, let the nobility, if ever they mean to be commanders at ſea, turn merchants, and go themſelves on board their own trading ſhips, before they preſume to make intereſt for poſts in the royal navy.

Modern ſtates have no other way to aggrandize themſelves but by maritime power. Since a kind of luxury unknown to the ancients, has infected Europe with a multitude of new taſtes, thoſe nations which can furniſh the reſt with the means of gratifying them, muſt become the moſt conſiderable; becauſe, by exerting their powers in the perils of navigation and the labours of trade, they keep their neighbours in inaction and ſenſuality; they keep thoſe very people whom they pay

for

for carrying on war in ſubjection, and dependent on their induſtry, with the very money they have drained them of by luxury. It is ſince that revolution, which hath, as it were, ſubmitted the earth to the ſea, that the great ſtrokes of ſtate have been ſtruck on the ocean. Richelieu had not perceived this to be near at hand, when to keep out the Engliſh from Rochelle, he almoſt cut off all communication between the town and ſea. Ships would have been better than a dike; but the navy had no ſhare in his ſyſtem of enſlaving France, in order to rule over Europe. The monarch, to whoſe greatneſs he had been paving the way, imagined as he did, that that greatneſs conſiſted only in the art of conquering. After having ſtirred up the whole continent of Europe by his enterprizes, he was obliged to keep numberleſs armies in pay to withſtand that league. His kingdom ſoon became, as it were, one great camp, and his frontiers a mere hedge of fortified towns. Under that brilliant reign, the ſprings of the ſtate were conſtantly overſtretched; the government, reſtleſs and uneaſy by its own vigour, eſcaped from one danger only to fall into another, The want of a ſtanding navy was never felt till the finances were almoſt too much exhauſted to raiſe it.

EVER ſince the end of that century, in which the people ſupported, at leaſt, under their misfortunes by the remembrance of paſt ſucceſſes, ſtill dazzled Europe with the proſpect of forty years of glory, were attached to the government that had raiſed them to ſuch a pitch of honour, and bad defiance to the rivals they had humbled; ever ſince that period, the proſperity of France has always been upon the decline, notwithſtanding the acquiſitions that have enlarged her territories. She would not have been enervated by twenty years peace, had ſhe employed thoſe powers in the improvement of her navy, which had been too long waſted in a continental

BOOK V.

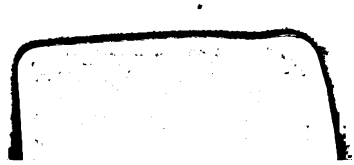
nental war. But her marine has never been put upon a reſpectable footing. The avarice of one miniſtry, the prodigality of another, the indolence of many, little ſelfiſh views, court intrigues that guide the government, a ſeries of vices and errors, a multitude of obſcure and deſpicable cauſes have prevented the nation from becoming as great at ſea as ſhe had been on the continent, and at leaſt from maintaining the balance of power, if not contending for the ſuperiority. The evil is incurable, if the misfortunes ſhe has ſuſtained in the late war, and the hard terms ſhe has ſubmitted to at the peace, have not inſpired her rulers with the ſpirit of wiſdom, and attracted all their projects and all their efforts towards eſtabliſhing a formidable navy.

EUROPE waits impatiently for this revolution. She will never think her liberties ſecure, till ſhe ſees a flag upon the ocean that does not tremble before the Britiſh ſtandard. That of France is now the only one which may in time aſpire to that competition. The wiſhes of all nations are now united for the proſperity of that power which ſhall be able to defend them from one that can alone pretend to the univerſal empire of the ſeas. The ſyſtem of equilibrium requires that France ſhould augment her naval powers, more eſpecially as ſhe cannot effect this without diminiſhing her land forces. Then her influence, divided between both elements, will be formidable to none but ſuch as would diſturb its harmony. The nation itſelf requires nothing more to compaſs this great end, than to be at liberty to aſpire to it. The government muſt allow the people to exert themſelves. But, if authority contracts the powers and freedom of induſtry, by obſtructing it more and more with taxes and reſtraints; if it damps its vigour by endeavouring to force it; if in drawing all to itſelf, it falls into a dependence on ſubalterns; if in order to go

to

to America or India, we muſt paſs through the intricate windings of the capital or the court; if ſome miniſter, already great and powerful, will not immortalize his name, by delivering the colonies from the yoke of a military government, by alleviating the oppreſſion of the cuſtoms upon commerce, by opening the roads for thoſe who are brought up in the merchant ſervice, to honours as well as to the ſervice of the royal navy: in ſhort, if there is not a total change, inevitable ruin muſt enſue.

FRANCE has committed great miſtakes, and made many hard ſacrifices. It is doubtful whether the riches ſhe has preſerved in the iſlands of America are an equivalent to the ſtrength ſhe has loſt on the continent of that vaſt country. It is in the north that a freſh revolution is preparing in the new world. That is to be the ſeat of our wars. There let us explore the ſecret of our future deſtiny.

END OF THE FIFTH BOOK.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.